MASTERS

CHARLES FONTAINE

PARISIEN

HAWKINS

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MAISTRE CHARLES FONTAINE
PARISIEN

BY

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PREFACE

For three and one-half centuries Charles Fontaine either was wholly forgotten or was vaguely known to a few specialists as a disciple of Clément Marot and perhaps as the author of the *Quintil Horatian* and of a poem on the birth of one of his children. During the past twenty-five years — years in which the study of the French Renaissance has been revolutionized — he has attracted the attention of some of the foremost scholars of France. Joseph Désormaux, William Poidebard, Président Baudrier, Léon Galle, Pierre de Nolhac, Émile Roy, Henri Chamard, Louis Clément, Émile Picot, Paul Bonnefon, Ferdinand Gohin, Abel Lefranc, and Paul Laumonier have devoted to various phases of his career articles or notes which have helped to give a clearer understanding of the man and his works. The present book is intended to correlate and to supplement the efforts of my predecessors. What previous investigators have done for Guillaume Cretin, Jean Marot, Octovien de Saint-Gelais, Antoine du Moulin, Louise Labé, Eustorg de Beaulieu, Calvy de la Fontaine, Nicolas Denisot, Barthélemy Aneau, Guillaume des Autelz, Charles de Sainte-Marthe, Sébastien Castellion, Hugues Salel, Jean de Boyssonné, and other minor characters of the first half of the sixteenth century, I have tried to do for Fontaine, whose name once resounded in France as the cherished darling of the Muses. As time passes, it becomes more and more evident that only when all the secondary writers of the period mentioned shall have been treated can a definitive history of the Pléiade be written.

Since the middle of the eighteenth century Goujet's article in the *Bibliothèque françoise* has been the authority for the events of Fontaine's life. Unfortunately, the industrious abbé's biography

ends with the year 1547. By a searching examination of the works of Fontaine and of his contemporaries, and with the aid of a handful of documents, I have been able to extend Goujet's account by some seventeen years and to supply many details that escaped his notice. In addition, I have sought to give a clear idea of Fontaine's score of works, and to determine his place in the literary history of the Renaissance.

In dealing with the punctuation, spelling, and accentuation of the writers of the sixteenth century, I have followed (except in the Bibliography) what seems to me the most rational course. The punctuation has been changed only in the case of obvious errors. In the spelling I have substituted *v* for consonant *u* and *j* for consonant *i*. I have supplied all missing accents. If, in the reproduction of a text, a close adherence to the original accentuation is obligatory, in a piece of historical research the rectification of an inconsistent and often puzzling system of accentuation is merely a favor that the reader has a right to expect.

To the study of Fontaine I have appended a short notice on his son Jean. I have also added a minute bibliography of the works of Fontaine which will, I hope, be of assistance to future workers.

On account of the European War, I have been unable to verify page references and quotations as carefully as I should have done under normal conditions.

I am under the deepest obligations to several of my friends and teachers at Harvard. I am especially indebted to Professor E. S. Sheldon, Professor C. H. C. Wright, and Professor A. F. Whittem, who, in the preparation of the manuscript and in the reading of the proof, have given me the benefit of their encouragement and criticism. I am also indebted to Professor C. H. Grandgent and Professor J. D. M. Ford for their kindly suggestions and corrections. To Professor Abel Lefranc, of the Collège de France, under whose direction I began my work, I am obliged for his stimulating lectures and his friendly inspiration. To Miss Caroline Ruutz-Rees, of Greenwich, Connecticut, I owe several important pieces of information. I am pleased also to acknowledge kindnesses

received from M. Gustave Macon, of the Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly, and from the authorities of the other libraries in which I have worked — the Bibliothèque Nationale, the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, the Bibliothèque Mazarine, the Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne, the Bibliothèque de la Ville de Lyon, the British Museum, and Harvard University Library.

R. L. H.

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CHARLES FONTAINE

MAISTRE CHARLES FONTAINE PARISIEN

CHAPTER I

EARLY YEARS

Birth. — Family. — Collège du Plessis. — *Lecteurs royaux.* — Pierre Danès. — Choice of a career. — Correspondence with Jean Dugué.

CHARLES FONTAINE, the son of a merchant, was born at Paris, on July 13, 1514, in a house situated in front of Notre-Dame:

> Dieu gard Paris, le chef de France,
> Qui est le lieu de ma naissance . . .
> Dieu gard ma maison paternelle,
> Au beau milieu de l'isle belle,
> Maison assize vis-à-vis
> De Nostre-Dame et du parvis,
> Qui a la belle fleur de France [1]
> Pour son enseigne et démontrance.[2]
>
> Le trezième du moys fus né
> Qui de Jules porte le nom.[3]

As for the year of Fontaine's birth, the abbé Goujet seems to have drawn the wrong conclusion from the following extract: [4]

[1] The fleur-de-lis.

[2] *Les Ruisseaux de Fontaine*, Lyons, 1555, p. 62: *Dieu gard à la ville de Paris.* Cf. *Les Nouvelles et antiques merveilles*, Paris, 1554: *Ode pour Dieu gard à la ville de Paris*, stanzas 3 and 4:

> Dieu gard le premier de l'Europe,
> Temple en honneur, et édifice
> Haulsant son chef dessus la trope
> Des lieux sacrez au saint service.
>
> Dieu gard le nid de la Fontaine
> Vis-à-vis de ce grand front double:
> Nid qui voit droit de veuë pleine
> Les saints feuz, soit jour, soit nuict trouble.

[3] *Les Ruisseaux*, p. 68: *L'Auteur à ses amis, amateurs de poésie.*

[4] Goujet, *Bibliothèque françoise*, Paris, 1741–56, vol. xi, p. 114.

Au beau milieu de la grand ville
Sans per, et au milieu d'une isle
Entre le Nort et l'Occident,
Devant le grand temple évident
(Dont le hault front bien atourné
De deux grans cornes est orné)
Fontaine a pris sa source et course,
Quand le Roy-Père, trèsprudent,
Au fleuve Styx alloit tendant
Sans ruisseaux masles de sa source.
Puis le Roy Franc, qui tint sa bourse
Ouverte aux Muses et aux ars,
Leva son beau grand chef, et pource,
Se feit paroistre en toutes pars.[1]

The " Roy-Père " was Louis XII, who died on January 1,[2] 1515, and who, on account of his many efforts to improve the condition of his subjects, was honored by the States-General held at Tours in 1506 with the title of " Père du peuple." Louis, the sole representative of the Valois-Orléans branch of kings, died without leaving " ruisseaux masles de sa source," and was succeeded by " le Roy Franc," Francis I, who during his reign did much for the advancement of art, literature, and learning.

Fontaine's ancestors came originally from Clamart, a village near Paris, according to a quatrain addressed by him to a friend of his youth named Ferrand:

Dieu gard celuy qu'en ma jeunesse
J'ay congneu sur nostre Parnasse:
Son Clamart, qui nous fait caresse,
M'alaicta et toute ma race.[3]

[1] *Les Ruisseaux*, p. 81: *L'Auteur escrit de sa naissance, et sous quelz roys il a vescu.*

[2] Not on July 1, as Goujet says. Whether the lines

Quand le Roy-Père, trèsprudent,
Au fleuve Styx alloit tendant,

mean when Louis XII was approaching his end or when he actually died, the poet could hardly have used this language if he was born more than six months after the king's death. The usually accepted date (Goujet's), 1515, seems wrong.

[3] *Les Nouvelles et antiques merveilles: Ode pour Dieu gard à la ville de Paris*, stanza 98. A poet named Ferrand took part in the controversy between Clément Marot and François Sagon. Cf. p. 36, note 1, below.

His reference to himself in the last verse is explained by the fact that he was sent when an infant to Clamart, where he was placed under the care of a certain Jean Ticier and his wife:

> Dieu gard Clamart et Jean Ticier,
> Mon gentil père nourricier:
> Dieu gard sa femme sans malice,
> Qui fut ma gentille nourrice.[1]

Only once does Fontaine mention his mother: in a *Dieu gard* to the city of Paris, written in 1547, he regrets that she is no longer living.[2] Of his father, on the other hand, he gives a brief description — if Goujet's conjecture is right — which indicates that he was a most worthy man, an honest merchant, who found time to cultivate his mind, to associate with people of learning, and to teach his children.[3] Although the following lines are put in the mouth of a young woman, it is very probable that Fontaine is speaking of his own father:

> En premier lieu fille suis de marchant,
> Lequel n'estoit usurier ne meschant:
> Qu'il soit ainsi, on luy portoit ce nom
> Loyal marchant: tel estoit son renom.
> Dès son jeune aage avoit science acquise,
> Qu'il estimoit plus que sa marchandise.
> Tousjours hantoit les lectres et lectrez,
> Non les grans gens richement acoustrés,
> Disant ainsi: ces mollemens vestuz
> Souvent d'autant s'esloignent des vertuz . . .
> Homme il estoit de petite parolle,
> Fors quand de nous il tenoit son escole,
> J'entends de moy et d'une mienne sœur[4]
> Dont il estoit enseigneur et dresseur.

The education begun by Fontaine at home was soon supplemented by a course of study in the Collège du Plessis,[5] where in

[1] *Les Ruisseaux*, p. 62: *Dieu gard à la ville de Paris.* [2] Cf. p. 131, below.

[3] The reference to Fontaine's father occurs in *La Contr'amye de Court*, first published at Paris in 1541. Cf. Goujet, *Bibl. franç.*, vol. xi, p. 115.

[4] Fontaine's sister was named Catherine. At her death about 1540, Fontaine composed an elegy which ranks among his best productions. Cf. p. 186, below.

[5] The Collège du Plessis, situated in the rue Saint-Jacques, received its name from its founder, Geoffroi du Plessis, prothonotary of France, who stipulated that it

1530, when sixteen years of age, he won the degree of which he was so proud during the rest of his life:

> Dieu gard, par devoir et pour rente,
> Le Pleisis que j'ayme et je prise:
> Où, bien jeune, l'an cinq cens trente,
> Je receu l'honneur de maistrise.[1]

The methods employed in the colleges of Paris prior to 1530 are well known. Fontaine was probably forced to undergo many of the humiliating punishments then inflicted on pupils by brutal pedagogues, and to endanger his health by living in the insanitary buildings used for school purposes. Although the Collège du Plessis has not come down to posterity with such a bad name as Montaigu and others, we may be sure that, so far as teaching methods were concerned, it was not a whit in advance of the majority of its neighbors.[2] It is likely that Fontaine did not derive great profit from the instruction offered in such a college, where routine and the quibblings of scholasticism prevented even the most brilliant pupils from making intellectual progress.

However, if Fontaine harbored resentment towards his masters at the Collège du Plessis, he kept silent on the subject. Besides the stanza cited above, he makes only one reference to his college experience: he speaks of a M. Content, who in 1554 was a *procureur* in the Parliament of Paris, as his "Plessique acointance, qui fut maistre ès arts au collège du Plessis avec l'auteur." [3]

The year in which Fontaine obtained his master's degree immediately recalls one of the most important events of the

should shelter only poor students from the dioceses of Reims, Tours, Sens, Saint-Malo, Rouen, and Évreux. This rule finally falling into disuse, the college opened its doors to students from other parts of France, and, together with its neighbor, the Collège de Marmoutier, also founded by G. du Plessis, became one of the leading schools of Paris.

[1] *Les Nouvelles et antiques merveilles: Ode pour Dieu gard à la ville de Paris*, stanza 6.

[2] Concerning the filthiness of the school buildings (especially of Montaigu), the brutality of the teachers, and the senseless curriculum of the time, cf. the attacks of Erasmus, Rabelais, and Montaigne.

[3] *Les Nouvelles et antiques merveilles: Ode pour Dieu gard à la ville de Paris*, stanza 57.

French Renaissance — the appointment by Francis I, after some fifteen years of vacillation, of five *lecteurs royaux*, chosen from among the foremost scholars of the time: Pierre Danès and Jacques Toussain in Greek, François Vatable and Agathias Guidacerius in Hebrew, and Oronce Finé in mathematics.[1] From the nomination of these five professors dates the institution which in 1610 adopted the name of Collège Royal, and later that of Collège de France.

The importance of the appointment of the *lecteurs royaux* cannot be emphasized too strongly. As M. Abel Lefranc remarks in the preface of his history of the Collège de France, the foundation of this college was not only a great event for public instruction in France, but from it dates the first serious step of the nation towards intellectual freedom.[2] Surely a gem in the crown of its real founders, not the king, but such zealous scholars as Guillaume Cop, Jacques Colin, Jean du Bellay, Guillaume Petit, Étienne Poncher, Pierre Duchâtel, and especially Guillaume Budé, the dedicatory letter of whose *Commentarii linguae graecae* (1529) caused the wavering king to accede to the demands for progress.

The *lecteurs royaux* began their duties in March, 1530. It is possible that Charles Fontaine was one of the eager souls that attended the opening lectures and listened to truths that could not be got under the old system of education. It is not a mere conjecture that at this period Maître Charles came in contact with three of the greatest geniuses of the Renaissance, Loyola, Calvin, and Rabelais.[3]

Pierre Danès,[4] the self-appointed head of the *lecteurs royaux*, especially made a lasting impression on Fontaine. Although the

[1] Barthélemy Latomus, the first *lecteur* in Latin, was not appointed until 1534.

[2] A. Lefranc, *Histoire du Collège de France*, Paris, 1893, p. vii.

[3] As to whether these three men attended the Collège de France at the same time, see Lefranc, p. 134.

[4] Danès was born at Paris in 1497. Endowed with a powerful mind, he had no difficulty in mastering Greek, Latin, Hebrew, medicine, theology, and mathematics. He wrote little for publication, and even showed his contempt for literary fame by signing his edition of Pliny with the name of his servant Bellocirius. To flexibility

first of the two huitains inscribed by him to Danès was published in 1545,[1] it was evidently written shortly after the poet's relations with Danès, when the memory of the latter's teaching was still fresh:

Seigneur, ton disciple petit
(Lequel en tes doctes lectures
A bien pris si grand apétit
Que souvent dernier en partit
Pour tes ditz mettre en escritures)
Peult il comprendre assez ta veine,
Ton éloquence des plus pures ?
Non: tu es Mer, il est Fontaine.

The second huitain in honor of Danès shows that in later years Fontaine still remembered with pleasure the hours spent with his teacher. These verses were written after Danès had given up his position as *lecteur royal* to enter upon his successful career at court, as is shown by the title, *A Monsieur Danesius, précepteur des enfants du Roy* (Henry II):

Mais pourquoy serois je confus
Près de ta docte humanité,
Puisque ton disciple je fus
En la grande Université ?[2]

Fontaine had now reached the age when youths must choose a career in life, and without the least hesitancy or misgiving he decided to be a poet. That no votary of the Muses ever began

of mind he united an elegance of manner and appearance which brought him success at court and caused him to forsake his studies and public lectures. In 1545 he was sent as French ambassador to the Council of Trent. Henry II, who treated him no less kindly than Francis I, made him preceptor of the Dauphin, and, later, bishop of Lavaur. After taking part in the final sessions of the Council of Trent (which did not end until 1563), he withdrew from active life, and died in 1577, mourned by the members of his diocese, to whom he had been kind and charitable. Calvin, Dorat, and Amyot were among his most famous pupils.

[1] *La Fontaine d'amour*, Lyons. The 1546 edition, Paris, from which I quote, is not paginated.

[2] *Odes, énigmes, et épigrammes*, Lyons, 1557, p. 32. The *lecteurs royaux* were often spoken of as forming a part of the University of Paris. There is no evidence that Danès ever taught in the University proper.

his labors with higher ideas as to what a poet should be or with greater confidence and enthusiasm is evident from a poetic correspondence which Maître Charles carried on with an uncle, Jean Dugué, who did all in his power to dissuade his nephew from choosing so unpractical a calling.

Guillaume Colletet, in the unpublished manuscript of his *Vies des poètes françois*,[1] states that Jean Dugué was a native of Paris, and that his life was so devoid of noteworthy incidents that only one inference is possible: "c'étoit un homme extrêmement du commun." Antoine Loisel,[2] on the other hand, says that in 1524 Dugué was an advocate pleading in the court of the Parliament of Paris, which seems to indicate that he was a man of some consequence. Colletet, however, persists in the opposite view: "S'il fut Démosthène ou le Périclès du barreau, c'est ce que j'ai peine à me persuader, puisque sa froide rimaille me fait paroître qu'il étoit dénué de cette évidente vigueur qui fait les bons orateurs aussi bien que les bons poètes." The poet Guillaume des Autelz, a close friend and a correspondent of Charles Fontaine, in a consideration of the possibility of writing poetry and attending to legal affairs at the same time, thinks that Dugué was successful both as a poet and as a lawyer:[3]

> Je reprenois ma Muse doucement,
> Luy amenant pour familier exemple
> Le bruit très bon et la renommée ample
> D'un oncle tien, qui tant de beaux vers feit,
> Et seut si bien faire en droit son profit
> Qu'en ces deux artz il fut grand personnage.[4]

Whether Dugué was a good poet and a good advocate is of little moment. He gave Fontaine sound advice, and had the latter heeded it, he might have been spared many of the cares and hardships which beset him in after life.

[1] Bibliothèque Nationale, Nouv. Acq. Fr., 3073, fol. 222. Colletet died in 1659.

[2] *Divers opuscules tirez des mémoires de M. Antoine Loisel par Claude Joly*, Paris, 1652, p. 575.

[3] Des Autelz too was a lawyer and a poet.

[4] *Les Ruisseaux*, p. 229. Colletet cites another reference to Dugué: Olivier de Magny praises his skilful playing of the spinet.

The correspondence between Dugué and Fontaine opens with a somewhat flattering epistle by Maître Charles, which causes Colletet to remark that the youth either had great respect for his uncle or was a most adroit wheedler. Fontaine speaks of the pleasure that he derives from writing verses, and expresses the opinion that if his poetry is not of the best, time and close application will bring about an improvement:

> je prens plaisir
> En vers françois, et si ay grand désir
> De plus avant gouster cette science:
> En escrivant croistra l'expérience:
> Celuy qui veut estre en quelque art parfaict
> Faut qu'il y soit par long temps expert fait.[1]

He asks Dugué for advice in writing poetry, and also begs leave to read Dugué's works:

> Je vous pry donc que voz œuvres à lire
> Me permetiez, car bien fort les désire.[2]

In his response to this epistle, Dugué manifests surprise at Fontaine's finding leisure to write poetry and carry on his studies at the same time:

> Premièrement j'estime ton épître
> D'autant qu'en vers françoys l'as voulu tistre,
> Et cy devant tel œuvre encor n'ay veu
> Qui procédast de ton faict, mon nepveu.
> Je ne pensois qu'avec la tienne estude,
> Où tu as pris si entière habitude
> Par artz humains, querant à les savoir,
> Les vers françoys y peussent lieu avoir:
> Peut on vacquer à la philosophie
> Entièrement, et en vers ? Je t'affie
> Que difficile il est: car qui entend
> Ensemble aux deux ne vient où il prétend.[3]

Dugué then draws a dark picture of the ills that result from writing poetry. His own experience should be a warning to Fontaine.

[1] *Les Ruisseaux*, p. 294. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 298.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 299. This extract is of interest, since it shows that Fontaine was a diligent student, and that the two epistles to his uncle were among the first of his poetic compositions.

He, too, when young, was infatuated with poetry, and what was the outcome? Instead of winning honor and wealth, he succeeded only in losing the esteem of his fellow men:

> En ma jeunesse, avec maint autre affaire,
> Composay jeux pour honneur et gaing faire
> J'ay pour esbat fait épîtres autresfoys,
> Virlais, rondeaux, ballades: toutesfoys,
> Le tout pesé, l'yssue est peine traire,
> Et de son train s'estranger et distraire:
> Tant qu'en la fin par trop les vers aymer
> Me suys trouvé peu me faire estimer.[1]

After this confession, one would expect Dugué to refuse Fontaine's request for the loan of his poems. He replies:

> Or, mon nepveu, à ce que tu requiers
> Mes œuvres voir, et dis que cela quiers
> Pour t'exciter, soit sur table, ou sur coffre,
> Tout est à toy, de bon cœur te les offre. . .
> Pour ce travail je n'ay autre salaire
> Fors que j'en puys à moy ou autruy plaire:
> Mais je ne veux à ce tant m'eschaufer,
> Car mieux vault gaing que de philosopher
> A gens qui ont leur mesnage à conduire.[2]

Dugué's epistle thoroughly aroused Maître Charles. In his response, he takes up Dugué's objections one by one, and declares that nothing can keep him from following his bent, be the cost what it may. In answer to Dugué's assertion that poetry and philosophy cannot be pursued simultaneously, he says:

> Or me louez qu'outre vostre pensée
> S'est mon estude à cet art avansée:
> C'est don de Dieu, puisqu'il en est donneur,
> A luy tout seul j'en redonne l'honneur:
> Mais ne pouvez penser qu'on le poursuyve,
> Et qu'avec luy philosophie on suyve:
> Quant à cela, ne vous responds, sinon
> Qu'un petit mot: ou c'est science ou non:
> Si c'est science, en elle qui se fie
> N'est point contraire à la philosophie:
> Philosophie, amour de sapience,

[1] *Les Ruisseaux*, p. 300. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 301.

Est un chaos plein de toute science:
Toute science ensemble symbolise:
Parquoy cet art les siens ne scandalise,
S'il ne rencontre un juge sans saveur,
Et qui ne porte à science faveur:
Et si tel juge on trouve, cetuy-là
Ne sera pas Metellus ne Sylla,
Ne sera pas Auguste ou Alexandre,
Ne Françoys Roy qui a la Salamandre.[1]

Fontaine maintains that his Muse keeps him aloof from evil associations and harmful practices:

Me soit permis donc au lieu de jouer
Hanter cet art (je dis sans me louer):
Me soit permis au lieu de dez ou cartes,
Et au lieu d'arcs et sagettes des Parthes,
Soir et matin la plume manier,
Qui vole mieux, on ne le peut nier.[2]

The divine inspiration of the poet, observes Fontaine, places him above the orator:

Si l'orateur doit estre homme de bien
(Tel les auteurs l'ont défini), combien
Mieux le sera le seul divin poète,
Qui prend son vol plus haut que l'aloète,
Porté du vent et inspiration
D'une céleste et haute invention,
Qui est fait tel de Dieu et de nature,
Plus que par art et humaine culture ?[3]

After a few remarks on his own prose and poetic style and on the value of rime in French poetry, Maître Charles replies to Dugué's statement that a poet's life is not a remunerative one:

Ailleurs distrait (comme dites) vous estes,
A vostre estat, pour le proufit et gaing,
Lequel nourrit et soustient vostre train,

[1] *Les Ruisseaux*, p. 303. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 306.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 307. Cf. Horace, *Epist. ad Pisones*, 408–411. In an epistle to Francis I (*Les Ruisseaux*, p. 10), Fontaine says:

Si à cet art j'estoye destiné
Dès que sur terre enfant petit fus né,
Pourrois je bien de cœur trop endurci
Combatre Dieu et la nature aussi ?

On p. 10, above, he expresses the opposite view.

Qui vous vaut mieux que de philosopher:
Mais j'ayme mieux mon esprit estoffer
De la richesse et trésor de science,
Et vivre povre en paix et patience,
Amy de pure et tranquille vertu,
Qu' estre en un bruit, qu'estre très bien vestu,
Et robbe avoir qui contre froit m'eschauffe,
Que luyre en or, et n'estre philosophe.[1]

After receiving this epistle, Dugué decided that further remonstration with Fontaine would be idle, and dropped the correspondence.

Many years later, in an epistle to Guillaume des Autelz, Fontaine expressed deep regret for not having heeded Dugué's sage counsel. The disillusioned " philosopher " lamented that he did not enter the legal profession, not so agreeable as the career of a poet, to be sure, but more likely to support a family. He even thought the law more honorable than versifying. It will also be observed in the following extract that Dugué offered to lend Fontaine his law books and his personal support, facts which do not come out in their correspondence:

Si je pouvois jeune encor devenir,
Je voudrois bien le train des loix tenir:
Bien qu'il ne soit, avecques sa pratique,
Autant plaisant comme l'art poétique
Au jeune esprit, gaillard et gracieux,
Des libres artz querant champs spacieux:
Mais en haultesse il est plus honorable,
Plus nécessaire, aussi plus profitable.

[1] *Les Ruisseaux*, p. 311. — Speaking of the good that writers may accomplish, Fontaine says (*ibid.*, p. 308):

Mais, je vous pry, Cretin et les Grebans
Ont ilz suyvi du monde les bobans ?
Ont ilz traicté de plaisirs et délices ?
Ont ilz escrit pour exciter aux vices ? . . .
N'a pas Marot avecques renommée,
De toutes pars espandue et semée,
Et, qui plus est, par le commandement
Du plus grand roy dessous le firmament,
Maintz psalmes mis d'Hébreu et de Latin
En vers françoys, qu'aurons quelque matin ?

He also mentions Juvencus, Saint Jerome, David, and Job as men who strove to better mankind by their writings.

Et pleust à Dieu que mon oncle eusse cru,
Lorsque moy jeune, ayant l'esprit trop cru,
Fey grand refus de la science suivre,
Qui en honneurs et en biens le fait vivre:
En quoy m'offroit, pour me mettre à bon port,
Ses livres tous avec tout son support:
Mais c'en est fait, jetté en est le dé,
Le sort par art en doit estre amendé:
Nul remède autre y a, tant soit on sage,
Y obstant l'aage, avec le mariage.[1]

These regrets came too late, and were caused only by the adversities which Fontaine had to suffer, adversities which saddened his life and forced him to seek various occupations to bolster up his shattered fortune. And to make matters worse, he was not the only one to suffer. As he sadly remarks, "aage, avec le mariage" prevented him from completely changing his mode of living, and it must have deeply grieved such an affectionate husband and father to think that the rash enthusiasm of his youth had reduced his family to poverty.[2]

But let us not anticipate. Let us return to Fontaine the youth, full of ambition, casting discretion to the winds, booted and spurred for the fray, and awaiting only an opportunity to make for himself a name that would ring from one end of France to the other. This opportunity soon came. Shortly after his correspondence with Jean Dugué, Clément Marot, the prince of French poets, when attacked in a most cowardly manner by an envious rimester, honored Fontaine by appealing to him for aid in putting down the foe of all true poets.

[1] *Les Ruisseaux*, p. 236. H. Hartmann (*G. des Autelz*, Zurich, 1907, p. xiii) assigns 1546 as the date of the correspondence between Fontaine and Des Autelz.

[2] In an epistle to Francis I (*Les Ruisseaux*, p. 11), Fontaine writes:

Quand on est jeune en grand esbatement
Pour passetemps et pour contentement
C'est un plaisir de sonner la musette:
Mais puis après, quand l'aage et la disette
Surprennent tost le poète estonné,
Alors s'en va son chant mal entonné,
Diminuant tout petit à petit,
Car de sonner il perd tout appétit:
Alors il hayt sa musette et sa Muse:
Si elle s'offre, il la jette et refuse.

CHAPTER II

THE QUARREL BETWEEN CLÉMENT MAROT AND FRANÇOIS SAGON

Origin of the quarrel. — François Sagon. — Marot's tribulations. — Sagon attacks the exiled Marot. — Marot's friends and disciples defend Marot. — Bonaventure des Périers. — Charles Fontaine's relations with Marot. — Charles Fontaine's contributions to the quarrel. — Nicole Glotelet. — *Le Valet de Marot contre Sagon.* — Calvy de la Fontaine. — The attacks of Sagon and his followers on the friends and disciples of Marot. — Disgust of the public. — The *Confrérie des Conards*, of Rouen. — *Le Banquet d'Honneur.* — Peace.

THE quarrel between Clément Marot and François Sagon [1] began on August 16, 1534, when the two poets attended the wedding of Isabeau, sister of Henri d'Albret, and René de Rohan, celebrated at Alençon under the patronage of the Queen of Navarre. In honor of the event Marot composed an epistle, *Épître présentée à la royne de Navarre par madame Isabeau et deux autres damoyselles habillées en amazones en une mommerie.*[2] This poem, in which

[1] Cf. E. Voizard, *De Disputatione inter Marotum et Sagontum*, 1885; Paul Bonnefon, *Le Différend de Marot et de Sagon*, in the *Revue d'Hist. litt. de la France*, 1894, pp. 103 and 259; J. Mathorez, *Un Apologiste de l'alliance franco-turque au XVIe siècle, François Sagon*, in the *Bulletin du bibliophile*, 1913, pp. 105 ff.

Of the two principals in this quarrel, one, Marot, occupies such a prominent place in French literature that it would be idle to speak of his life and works; the other, Sagon, would be quite forgotten to-day had not his illustrious opponent dragged his name down to posterity. The son of a Spanish merchant who settled in Rouen towards the end of the fifteenth century, Sagon, after receiving a good education, entered the priesthood, and signalized himself by his passionate devotion to the Church. About 1531 he began participating in the poetic contests held by a religious association of Rouen, the *Confrérie de l'Immaculée-Conception.* In 1544 he published *Le Triumphe de grâce, et prérogative d'innocence originelle, sur la conception et trespas de la vierge esleue mère de Dieu*, a mediocre collection of *chants royaux, ballades*, and *rondeaux*, which had been awarded prizes by the provincial judges. He died in 1544.

[2] *Les Œuvres de Clément Marot*, Guiffrey edition, vol. iii, p. 280a.

Marot's tendency to Protestantism was only too evident, was so severely criticized by Sagon that Marot lost his temper and attacked him with a poniard. Friends patched up the difficulty, and shortly after Marot and Sagon separated, the latter betaking himself to Le Mans with Félix de Brie, abbé de Saint-Ebvroul, to whom he was secretary.

As for Marot, he soon became involved in a more serious difficulty than any he had yet encountered. On three previous occasions his leaning toward the Reformation and his lawless conduct had got him into trouble, but, thanks to influential friends, he had escaped almost unharmed. In 1534 the charge against him could not be brushed aside so easily. Francis I himself, one of Marot's most loyal protectors, felt that the heretics were making so bold as to direct their shafts against his royal person. The famous *affaire des placards* forced Marot hastily to leave Blois, where he was with the king, and to seek a safer refuge. He fled first to Bordeaux, and thence to Nérac, where he hoped to gain the protection of Marguerite of Navarre, who had aided him in similar conjunctures. But fearing that the " Sorbonniqueurs " might lay hands on him even in so secure a place, he continued his flight, and finally stopped at the court of Renée de France, Duchess of Ferrara.[1] The liberal tendencies of this princess are well known. The welcome that she gave to Calvin and Lyon Jamet in the hour of need she also extended to Marot, despite the opposition of her husband, Ercole d'Este, a bitter enemy of the new doctrines.

Marot, however, soon tired of exile, and began seeking to regain the favor of Francis I. To that end, he sent the king an epistle [2] in which he tried to explain that he was guiltless of the charge of heresy and had had no hand in the posting of the slanderous placards against the Mass. This epistle which, in addition to bitter attacks on the corrupt magistrates of Paris and on the "ignorant" Sorbonne, contained several well-turned compliments

[1] Marot reached Ferrara about April, 1535.

[2] Guiffrey, vol. iii, p. 284.

to Francis I as well as the denial of the accusation of heresy, doubtless appealed to the king. But Marot's denial was soon belied by an epistle written to "two sisters of Savoy",[1] which proved conclusively that his denial was far from sincere, and that he was as thorough a Protestant as a man of his unstable character could possibly be.

It was natural that the heretical ideas contained in the epistle to the two sisters should attract the attention of Marot's enemies, and especially so on account of their appearance at the time when he was making profuse protestations of innocence to the king. At this moment, while Marot was still in exile, Sagon, the obscure rimester whom he had attacked dagger in hand at Alençon, reappeared on the scene. He hoped to avenge the assault made upon him, and at the same time to satisfy his envious nature, which could not brook Marot's success as a poet. The laureate of Rouen also thought that he might win favor by striking a blow in behalf of the Church, which had been so severely handled by Marot in the persons of the theologians of the Sorbonne.

In 1536 Sagon published his first attack on Marot, a small volume of *rondeaux*, *épîtres*, *chants royaux*, and *dizains*, entitled *Le Coup d'essay de Françoys de Sagon, secrétaire de l'abbé de Sainct Ebvroul, contenant la responce à deux épistres de Clément Marot retiré à Ferrare, l'une adressante au Roy très chrestien, l'autre à deux damoyselles seurs.* Sagon's method of attack is easily characterized: base vituperation, interlarded with an abundance of such epithets as "sot," "pou," "bête," "hérétique," is poorly disguised under the cloak of a defense of the persons assailed by Marot.

The two epistles in reply to those of Marot form the most important part of the *Coup d'essay*. In his response to Marot's epistle to Francis I, Sagon, after defending the magistrates whom Marot had belabored so soundly, assures his adversary that he must never hope for the king's pardon, that new complaints have been lodged against him, that it has been proved that he was the

[1] Guiffrey, vol. iii, p. 307.

leader in the affair of the placards, that it is common talk that he openly ate bacon during Lent, and that his life has been a succession of impure actions. He then enumerates the "very filthy books" found in Marot's room in Paris after his flight from France,[1] and beseeches him to mend his ways and to strive for the salvation of his soul. Sagon's reply to Marot's epistle to the two sisters of Savoy is, like the preceding poem, made up of abuse of the basest sort. In its clumsy verses Sagon seems to have concentrated all his grievances against his fellow poet.

In spite of the diatribes of Sagon, abetted by two obscure poets, Jean Le Blond and Charles Huet or La Hueterie, Marot prudently refrained from replying. The king's reluctance to pardon him gave him food for thought, and prevented him from cudgeling a man who posed as the defender of the Sorbonne and the established faith.

Marot's friends, however, were not so patient. While Marot was still an exile from Paris, two of his disciples espoused his cause and defended him to the best of their ability. Bonaventure des Périers, Olivetan's collaborator on the French Bible, had the honor of sounding the call to arms to all the loyal poets of the nation. With the same fearless spirit that later prompted him to write the *Cymbalum Mundi*, he also begged Francis I to forgive Marot, and that at a time when feeling against the Reformers ran highest:

> Velà de quoy ma Muse est anymée,
> C'est qu'une plume orde et envenimée,
> Plume d'arpye ou de quelque chouette,
> Vole et poursuyt du souverain poète,
> Maro françoys, le renom invincible,
> Velà de quoy . . .[2]
> Roy plus qu'humain, si j'ose en ta présence
> Seul excuser Marot en son absence,
> Pardonne moy . . .
> Qu'attendez vous, O poètes françoys,
> Ses bons amys ? Pensez vous que je soys

[1] Boccaccio, the *Celestina*, and the *Eclogues* of Virgil were among Marot's books.
[2] *Velà de quoy* was Sagon's motto.

Expert assez, ou si seur de mon roolle,
Pour à Phébus porter quelque parolle
De son Maro, que tout seul me laissez
Parler pour luy, et ne vous advancez
A excuser d'iceluy la querelle ? [1]

Des Périers's appeal to his fellow poets was not in vain. Only one of Marot's friends, however, united his efforts with those of Bonaventure while Marot was still absent from Paris, and that was Charles Fontaine.[2] Many other zealous champions entered the lists after Marot's return to Paris, but full credit should be given the two poets who first came to the defense of their friend and master.

It is likely that Fontaine had been on intimate terms with Marot before the latter's flight from Blois. As a youth, Maître Charles was, as we have seen, ambitious to become a poet, and it was only natural that he should seek the advice and companionship of the most popular poet of the day. That he was familiar with Marot, either before or after the Sagon affair, is proved by a dizain entitled *A Clément Marot, quand l'auteur alloit disner avec luy:*

Je n'ay veu ton pareil encor
En douceur de rime françoise:
Car, ami Marot, autant qu'or
Plus qu'autre métal luit et poise,
Tes vers françois en douce noise
Vont surpassans le stile antique.
Et croy qu'en ton art poétique
Le temps à peine amènera
Un poète si doux-unique,
Qui plus doucement sonnera.[3]

Elsewhere Fontaine expresses admiration for Marot as the translator of the Psalms:

[1] *Les Disciples et amys de Marot*, Paris, 1537, Paris and Lyons, without date: *Pour Marot absent contre Sagon.*

[2] It is generally said that Fontaine did not reply to Sagon until after Marot's return to Paris. It will be shown later that Fontaine wrote his reply in Paris, sent it to Marot in Lyons, and that Marot sent it to Sagon. Cf. p. 22, below.

[3] *Les Ruisseaux*, p. 82.

Quand David voyons en maint pseaume
Parlant françoys par le royaume,
A qui en dirons grand mercy ?
A Marot, qui traduit ainsy.[1]

He also speaks of Marot's facility and popularity:

Marot pour sa facilité
Sera leu, comme il a esté,
Du commun . . .
Tousjours aura plus de lecteurs
Que cent et cent d'autres auteurs.[2]

Fontaine's contributions to the controversy between Marot and Sagon consist of a dizain and an epistle in French and a short poem in Latin.[3] As M. Bonnefon remarks, Fontaine brought into the quarrel more youthful enthusiasm than poetic ability, and yet his pieces compare favorably with the greater part of those that appeared during the controversy, and are especially commendable for their freedom from the obscenity and vituperation to which too many of the disputants had recourse.

In his Latin verses, Fontaine takes Sagon to task for vilifying so renowned a poet as Marot, the pride of all France. Inasmuch as the poem is written in Latin, Fontaine thought it fitting to back his own high estimate of Marot with the approbation of three of the most famous humanists of the day, Nicolas Bourbon, Salmon Macrin, and Étienne Dolet.[4] These men, says Fontaine, have only words of praise for Marot; so why should you, Sagon, undertake to belittle him ?

[1] *La Fontaine d'amour.* Cf. p. 13, note 1, above.

[2] *Les Ruisseaux*, p. 207.

[3] Fontaine may have been the author of another short poem in Latin, *In eum qui scripsit in Marotum*, the theme of which is the same as that of the French dizain cited on p. 21, below.

[4] At a later date Fontaine could not have mentioned Dolet as an admirer of Marot. Cf. Marot's epigram *A Estienne Dolet*, which begins:

Tant que voudras jette feu et fumée,
Mesdi de moy à tort et à travers;
Si n'auras tu jamais la renommée
Que de long temps tu cherches par mes vers.
(*Œuvres de Cl. Marot*, Jannet edition, vol. iii, p. 91.)

Dic mihi, Sagunti, quae te dementia cepit ?
Quae tam atrox rabies te tibi surripuit ?
Quis furor insanus, quis te furor impius egit,
Scribendo nomen commaculare tuum ?
Ah, scripsisti in eum quem Gallia tota poetam
(Ut rumpare odio) gaudet habere suum.
Num tibi Borbonius, Macrinus et ipse Doletus
Sunt tandem visi stringere in hunc calamum ?
Quin illi vatem vates (ut rite poetam
Addecet) ornarunt laudibus immodicis.
Scripsisti solus: solus dicere poeta.
Scilicet hoc meruit scriptio sola tua.[1]

As a basis for his dizain against Sagon, Fontaine makes use of the well-known legend of the Greek lyric poet Stesichorus who, for having cast the blame for the Trojan War on Helen, was stricken blind by the gods. Sagon is in the same position as Stesichorus, says Fontaine. The Greek poet regained his sight only after a retractation, and Sagon can hope for rehabilitation in the eyes of the world only after a similar procedure:

Stesicorus, le poète de Grèce,
Après avoir escript encontre Héleine,
Qui en beaulté a surpassé Lucresse,
Il fut puny par une telle peine
Qu'il ne vit goutte. Or, pour sa veuë pleine
Tost recouvrer, luy convint contr'escrire.
Ainsi, Sagon, il te convient eslire
De ces deux cy ou l'une ou l'autre voye:
C'est à ton œuvre à présent contredire,
Ou que remply de vergogne on te voye.[2]

These two short poems did not attract the attention of the "Sagonneaux." It was Fontaine's *Epître à Sagon et à La Hueterie* which stirred the enemy against him. Thanks to Sagon's skilful tactics, this epistle has an interesting history. In the edition of Marot's works published in 1543 by Étienne Dolte, it was attributed to Marot, and for a long time this attribution was held to be correct, in spite of the fact that in 1537, when the quarrel was at its height, it was published three times under Fontaine's

[1] *Les Disciples et amys de Marot.*
[2] *Ibid.;* also in *Le Valet de Marot contre Sagon*, Paris, 1537.

name.[1] Guiffrey, the most competent judge in the matter, after a careful examination of the facts, decided that Fontaine, and not Marot, was the author of the poem. The evidence adduced by Guiffrey in support of this opinion is as follows.[2] Sagon was an arrogant and conceited person, whose exaggerated confidence in his own ability was exceeded only by his utter mediocrity; so, when he received an epistle directed against him and his lieutenant, La Hueterie, and signed with the name of an unknown Fontaine, it was not unnatural that he should try to ascribe the poem to his archenemy Marot. Could he, the great Sagon, stoop to wrangle with Fontaine the novice? A genius like him was destined to cope only with the greatest poet of the time, and not with an obscure youth who had yet to win his spurs. The following verses by Sagon prove that Marot, by receiving Fontaine's epistle at Lyons and forwarding it to Paris, helped his opponent's scheme to succeed:

> Dieu gard Marot qui feit tant à Lion
> Qu'il m'envoya une épistre imprimée
> De sa façon, au mieulx qu'il peust rymée:
> Et pour autant que Sagon la reprent,
> La désadvoue et Fonteynes la prent.[3]

In another passage Sagon also attributes the epistle to Marot:

> Fonteines, trop heureux serois,
> Et tes deux cornes dresserois,
> Si l'œuvre dont tu as le tiltre
> (J'entendz testament [4] et épistre)
> Estoit corrigé de par moy.
> On sçait qu'il n'y a rien de toy . . .
> Tu faictz en vallet bon servant,
> Qui pour proffiter en service
> N'a honte d'advouer le vice

[1] Concerning the *Disciples et amys de Marot*, in which the epistle appeared, see p. 19, note 1.

[2] Guiffrey, vol. iii, pp. 656 ff.

[3] *Deffense de Sagon contre Clément Marot*, Paris, no date.

[4] A reference to the *Complainte et testament de Sagon*, by Calvy de la Fontaine. I shall speak later of the confusion of names which caused this amusing poem to be ascribed to Charles Fontaine.

De son maistre et de son forfaict.
Le vallet faict son propre faict.
Prenez qu'il ayt faict en derrière
Ung enfant à sa chambrière:
Le vallet dira qu'il est sien,
Et que son maistre n'y a rien.
Tu faictz ainsi, Charles Fonteynes,
Car j'ay des raisons bien certaines
Que l'épistre et faulx testament
Viennent de ton maistre Clément.[1]

In addition to these points, Guiffrey mentions the fact that Fontaine's epistle may have found its way into the Dolet edition of Marot's works through the trick of an unscrupulous editor who took advantage of Marot's absence from Lyons.

Let us now examine the contents of the epistle. The beginning is remarkable for its friendly tone. Fontaine has no animosity toward Sagon and La Hueterie; he is merely surprised that the "two secretaries"[2] have been so injudicious as to foist their immature productions upon the public:

Quant j'ay bien leu ces livres nouvelletz,
Ces chantz royaulx, épistres, rondeletz,
Mis en avant par noz deux secrétaires,
Qui en rymant traictent plusieurs affaires,
Je leur escry par moyen de plaisir,
Sans leur vouloir ne mal ne desplaisir:
Car raison veult que je les advertisse
Qu'ilz n'ont pas eu du poète notice,
Qui dit qu'on doit garder ses vers neuf ans,
Pource qu'on doit craindre flottes et vens
Lors qu'on transporte et qu'on mect en lumière
Des escrivans leur ouvrage première:
Laquelle il fault reveoir diligemment,
Et de plusieurs avoir le jugement.
Celluy est sot, qui son imparfaict œuvre
A toutes gens impudamment descœuvre . . .
C'est commun dict, on ne faict rien qui serve,
Quant on le faict bongré malgré Minerve.[3]

[1] *Deffense de Sagon.*

[2] La Hueterie was the secretary of the Duke of Vendôme; Sagon, as has been mentioned, was the secretary of the abbé de Saint-Ebvroul.

[3] Horace, *Epist. ad Pisones*, 385–390.

Fontaine continues in this wise for some time; then his tone changes, — the gauntlet is thrown down:

Je ne veulx pas pourtant les abaisser,
A celle fin de mon stille haulser:
Car je congnoys la petite science
Que Dieu me donne, et pren en patience:
Mais seullement je veulx mettre en avant
Le jugement de maint homme sçavant,
Et de plusieurs qui leurs maistres seroient,
Quant en cest art leur plume adresseroient.
Je ne veulx donq trencher du paragon,
Pour me monstrer ennemy de Sagon:
Je ne prétendz ne plaid ne huterie
Avec Sagon, ne La Hueterie:
Ce non obstant, s'ilz en veulent à moy,
Je n'en seray (ce croy je) en grand esmoy:
Car je veoy bien à peu près que leur veine
Est ung petit trop débile et trop vaine
Pour bien jouer: cela très bien je sçay
A veoir sans plus leur povre *Coup d'essay*.
Si dessus moy leur chollère s'allume,
La Dieu mercy, nous avons ancre et plume
Pour leur respondre ung peu plus sagement
Qu'ilz n'ont escript tous deux premièrement.

The greater part of the remainder of the poem is devoted to Fontaine's advice to Marot's adversaries:

il convient garder ryme et raison.
Ryme et raison, ainsi comme il me semble,
Doivent tousjours estre logez ensemble.[1]
L'homme rassis doit son cas disposer
De longue main, avant que d'exposer
Son escripture et ses petis ouvrages
Dessoubz les yeulx de tant de personnages,
Dont plusieurs n'ont mis en jeu leurs volumes,
Combien qu'ilz soient faictz d'excellentes plumes.
Tant moins doyt on faire un œuvre imprimer
Où il y a grandement à lymer . . .
Ung bon rymeur qui a l'expérience
Que de nature il a ceste science,
En second point il ne doit tant errer
Qu'il n'ayt povoir de sa main tempérer,

[1] Cf. Boileau, *Art poétique*, i, 27–30.

A ce que par quelque manière lasche
Dessus aultruy ses aiguillons ne lasche,
Effrénément l'assaillant le premier . . .
Tu monstres bien ta malle affection
A l'affligé donant affliction.
Ce n'est pas là, ce n'est pas là la voye
Pour parvenir à honneur et à joye . . .
Sage n'est pas celluy qui se soulace
A dire mal, pensant acquérir grâce,
Et mesmement qui dit mal de celluy
Qui ne s'en doubte, et est bien loing de luy,
Dont il prétend avoir le lieu et gaiges.[1]
Mais beau temps vient après pluye et orages.
Facilement, et sans prendre grand soing,
On dit du mal de celluy qui est loing,
Que l'on pourroit avoir en révérence
Pour son sçavoir, quand il est en présence.
Quant telles gens se cuydent avancer,
Lors on les voyt tant plus désavancer.
Il ne fault pas par moyen déshonneste
Penser venir à quelque fin honneste.

A common practice during the controversy was the pointing out of errors of style on the part of adversaries. Fontaine engages in this sort of criticism:

L'un va rymant la Fere contre affaire,
Et l'autre aussi frère contre desplaire:
L'autre par trop les oreilles m'offense
Quant pour allume a voulu dire accense.
L'autre redit moictié et amytié
En douze vers, et moins de la moictié.
L'autre descript après Dieu scet comment
Ung chascun ciel et chascun élément,
L'astronomie, aussi l'astrologie,
Vous la diriez estre par eulx régie.
Maistre et remectre, aussi cueurs et obscurs,
Ce sont beaux motz, mais en ryme ilz sont durs.
Et puys on veult pour agréable avoir
Oeuvre tant sot et malplaisant à veoir.
Tantost après vingt et deux " si " arrivent,[2]

[1] Thought to have been one of Sagon's reasons for attacking Marot, *valet de chambre* of the king.

[2] In Sagon's reply to Marot's epistle to the two sisters of Savoy, twenty-two out of twenty-three consecutive verses begin with " si."

Qui pas à pas l'un l'autre s'entresuyvent.
Puys Sagon fonde en docteur arcadique
Quatre raisons sans texte évangélicque.
Aussi plusieurs personnages divers
Oncques n'ont peu m'exposer ces deux vers:
" Ton mal penser mect bien loing ta pensée
Près du soucy de ton âme offensée." [1]

Such are the most striking parts of Fontaine's epistle in defense of Marot, one of his first productions, and worthy of attention for that very reason. It is not a masterpiece, to be sure, but a sober piece of criticism, of which a more experienced writer need not be ashamed.[2] The cowardice of Sagon and La Hueterie in attacking an absent fellow poet, and the mediocrity of their poems are treated in a manner that speaks well for Fontaine's power of self-control. The epistle is of value to the student of the French language of the sixteenth century: Fontaine gives his ideas on good and bad rimes, and it is just such evidence that shows how the language was then pronounced.

In addition to Fontaine, Des Périers's appeal brought forth another champion of Marot, a poet of considerable erudition, who took refuge in the pseudonym Nicole Glotelet.[3] His polemic, *Apologie de maistre Nicole Glotelet, de Victry-en-Partoys,*[4] *pour Clément Marot, contre le Coup d'essay faict par ung Cerite ou Mathelineux nommé Sagon,*[5] was written shortly after Marot's return from exile, as is evident from the opening verses:

Chanter convient, ô la Muse des Muses,
Calliope: plus n'est tems que t'amuses
A déplorer de ton Marot l'absence,

[1] For the allusions in these verses to Sagon's and La Hueterie's poems, cf. Guiffrey, vol. iii, pp. 656 ff.

[2] Cf. R. C. Christie, *Étienne Dolet*, p. 167: " Charles Fontaine, whose literary criticisms are always marked with point and sense, if we cannot accord to him the high rank as a poet which his contemporaries considered was his due."

[3] M. Bonnefon conjectures that Glotelet may have been La Borderie, Papillon, Brodeau, or Claude Collet.

[4] Vitry-en-Perthois (Marne).

[5] *Les Disciples et amys de Marot.*

Ne comment Gaule estoit de sa présence
Destituée à grand tort et grand dueil.
Changer te fault en rys tes larmes d'œil:
Car le voycy, le voycy de retour.

In spite of the efforts of Sagon and his friends Le Blond and La Hueterie, Francis I had finally granted Marot permission to return to France. The king, however, took advantage of Marot's homesickness by stipulating a hard condition: the poet was required to make a public abjuration of the Protestant faith. This he did at Lyons,[1] and soon hastened on to Paris,[2] which he greeted with a *Dieu gard* filled with joy and thanks.[3] The malicious Sagon lost no time in penning to Marot a *Dieu gard* in which he reminded him of his past errors, and expressed the hope that repentance had finally entered his sinful heart.

Marot's position was still critical. For a time he continued the prudent silence that he had observed during his sojourn in Italy.[4] While the clouds still hovered over him, he preferred to entrust his defense to the faithful friends who had rushed to his assistance. At length, feeling that the horizon had cleared sufficiently for him to speak in his own behalf, he gave to the expectant public his brilliant, caustic *Valet de Marot contre Sagon*,[5] the only truly remarkable piece published during the long-drawn war of pamphlets.

The plan followed by Marot in his reply to Sagon is an excellent one. He, the foremost poet of France, cannot dispute openly with a Sagon; his valet Frippelippes is quite capable of drubbing the valet of the abbé de Saint-Ebvroul. Frippelippes readily enters into the spirit of the quarrel, sparing neither the coarse epithets nor the accusations of imbecility for which Sagon had

[1] Guiffrey, vol. iii, p. 554, note 1.

[2] Marot reached Paris about the beginning of 1537.

[3] Guiffrey, vol. iii, p. 556.

[4] Before his return to Paris, Marot made no reply to Sagon, except a few lines in a *coq-à-l'âne* to Lyon Jamet (end of 1536).

[5] Paris, 1537. At the end of Marot's poem was printed the dizain by Charles Fontaine cited on p. 21, above. For *Le Valet de Marot contre Sagon*, see Guiffrey, vol. iii, p. 565.

set the fashion. He tells his master's assailants that a response to their attacks is unnecessary, — their own writings suffice to convince impartial judges that the authors are exceedingly clodpated. However, he answers the charges of the ignoramuses, and then invites Marot's disciples to lend a hand in flaying " the old Norman dreamer ":

Venez, ses disciples gentilz,
Combatre ceste lourderie:
Venez, son mignon Borderie,[1]
Grand espoir des Muses haultaines:
Rocher, faites saillir Fontaines:
Lavez touts deux aux veaulx les testes:
Lyon,[2] qui n'es pas roy des bestes,
Car Sagon l'est, sus, hault la pate:
Que du premier coup on l'abbate.
Sus Gallopin,[3] qu'on le gallope.
Redressons cest asne qui choppe:
Qu'il sente de touts la poincture:
Et nous aurons Bonadventure,[4]
A mon advis, assez sçavant
Pour le faire tirer avant.
Vien, Brodeau [5] le puisné, son filz . . .
Venez doncq ses nobles enfants,
Dignes de chappeaulx triumphants
De vert laurier: faites merveilles
Contre Sagon, digne d'aureilles
A chapperon.[6]

[1] Concerning La Borderie, see pp. 79 ff., below.

[2] Lyon Jamet, one of Marot's closest friends. Cf. the famous epistle of the lion and the rat, Guiffrey, vol. iii, p. 75.

[3] Almaque Papillon (?). Cf. pp. 70, ff., below.

[4] Des Périers.

[5] Victor Brodeau, younger brother of Jean Brodeau.

[6] Marot's *Valet de Marot contre Sagon* is so well known that only the passage in which Charles Fontaine's name occurs is cited. — Sagon replied as follows to Marot's appeal to his disciples:

Ton maistre a espoir d' ung rocher,
Il a besoing d'eaue de Fontaine:
Il tient Borderie amy cher:
Son amytié est bien certaine.
S'il faict Brodeau son capitaine,
Brodeau ne le vouldra grever.
D'ung Papillon se peult saulver
S'il est de volante nature:
Et ne craindra Sagon trouver
Le secours de Bonadvanture.

After the publication of the *Valet de Marot contre Sagon*, Marot wisely withdrew from the dispute, and again left his defense with his disciples.[1]

It would be wearisome to mention the numerous pieces which appeared after the withdrawal of Marot, and which the press circulated to the delight of the public, for a time at least. As M. Bonnefon observes, the nature of the charges and countercharges offers but little variety. In the remainder of this chapter, attention will be focused mainly on the attacks of the "Sagonneaux" on Marot's most zealous defenders, Bonaventure des Périers, Nicole Glotelet, Charles Fontaine, and a poet whose name has been only casually mentioned, Calvy de la Fontaine. These four "Marotteaux" especially irritated the opposition, and by a natural confusion of names, one of them almost completely lost his personality during the controversy: the writings of Calvy de la Fontaine were invariably attributed to Charles Fontaine[2] who, of course, had to bear the blows that were aimed at his homonym.[3]

Sagon too calls poets to his aid:

> Venez donc, Chartier et Cretin,
> Greban, Meschinot, et Bertin . . .
> Moulinet avec ton moulin . . .
> Bouchet et toy, Germain Colin;

also Copin, Huet, Macé, Le Blond, and others. It will be observed that some of these poets were dead in 1537.

[1] Marot contributed only one other poem, the *rondeau* beginning, *Qu'on mène aux champs ce coquardeau.*

[2] The error is still common. Several bibliographers ascribe Calvy's productions to Charles. The mistake was caused by the fact that Charles sometimes signed his pieces C. Fontaine, and Calvy, C. de la Fontaine.

[3] The similarity of names did not escape Charles, who addressed to Calvy the following quatrain:

> Ton nom du tout ensemble au mien,
> Et ton cœur espris de ma Muse
> Me lient d'un si vray lien,
> Que de m'excuser n'ay excuse (*Les Ruisseaux*, p. 208.)

Concerning Calvy, see La Croix du Maine, Rigoley de Juvigny edition, vol. i, p. 99; Du Verdier, vol. i, p. 283; and especially René Sturel, *Essai sur les traductions du théâtre grec en français avant 1550*, in the *Revue d'Hist. litt. de la France*, 1913, pp. 269 and 637. Besides a translation of Sophocles's *Antigone* (Sturel,

Calvy de la Fontaine wrote two dizains in behalf of Marot, *Sur la grâce de Sagon* and *Sur Charles Hueterie*, and two longer poems, *Response à Charles Huet, dict Hueterie, qui feist du mytouard le gris* and *La Complainte et testament de François Sagouyn, dict Sagon, envoyez à Frippelippes, valet de C. Marot.*[1] Of these pieces, the dizain *Sur la grâce de Sagon* and the *Complainte et testament* are of especial interest, since the "Sagonneaux" ascribed them to Charles Fontaine, who had already sent them his epistle. The dizain runs as follows:

Quant apar moy je regarde le stile
De ce Sagon, grand asnier maigre et sec,
Il me souvient d'une truye qui file,
Ou d'un asnon qui joue du rebec:
Tant luy siet bien à jazer de son bec.
Mais de sa plume escrire vers propices,
Il s'y congnoist comme truye en espices.
Quoy ? à Clément ilz servent de feuillage.
Velà de quoy ce veau et ses complices,
Blasmant Marot, font louer son ouvrage.

In the *Deffense de Sagon contre Clément Marot*, Sagon, continuing his attack on Charles Fontaine,[2] ascribes the preceding verses to Charles:

Mais je veulx reprendre en passant
Ung poinct où tu vas ravassant,
Disant d'oultrecuidée audace
Que mon maistre n'a nulle grâce:
Et qu'il n'y a pas grant esprit
A la grâce qu'il a escript:
Dont tu as comparé le stille
A la vieille truye qui fisle.

The *Complainte et testament* is one of the most amusing poems that appeared during the quarrel. Sagon is represented in a

pp. 643 ff.), Calvy made the following translations: *Béroalde* [Filippo Beroaldo] *de la Foelicité humaine traduict de latin en françoys* (1543) and *Trois déclamations . . ., invention latine de Béroalde, avec un dialogue de Lucien intitulé Mercure et Vertu* (1556).

[1] Calvy's poems, as well as those of Des Périers, Glotelet, and Charles Fontaine, appeared in the *Disciples et amys de Marot contre Sagon.*

[2] Cf. p. 22, above.

melancholy state of mind; he feels the hand of death upon him. Frippelippes has dealt with him so roughly that he is ready to surrender:

Ha, nostre dame, qu'esse cy ?
Que diable? suis je encor icy?
Frippelippes, tes rudes coups
M'ont si bien gallé et secoux,
Et par derrière, et par devant,
Que je n'en puis plus hay avant:
Toutesfois j'en ay bon marché:
Car je debvois estre escorché
Comme Marsyas.

The downcast poet frankly admits that envy alone led him to attack Marot, " the pearl of French poets " :

Je n'en sçay point raison aucune,
Sinon que je y feuz incité
Seulement par meschanceté,
Qui tousjours à son maistre vient.
Vrayment très bien il me souvient
Qu'après avoir revisité,
Reveu, releu, refueilleté
Toutes les œuvres de Clément,
N'y trouvay ung point seulement
Qui ne feust bien faict: toutesfoys
Je cherchay plus de mille foys
Qu'en ung seul mot (pour l'en reprendre)
Je le peusse d'aguet surprendre.
Ce que ne peuz. Lors de despit
Me feusse estranglé sans respit,
Si n'eusse faict mon coup de fol.

In his despair, Sagon decides to make his will:

O Dieu, je suis mallement pris
D'avoir si très hault entrepris.
O *Coup d'essay*, tu renouvelles
Mes douleurs et playes nouvelles,
De quoy si très mal je me sens
Que je suis quasi hors du sens:
Parquoy il convient m'advancer
De mon testament commencer,
Tandis que j'ay tant seulement
Encor un peu d'entendement.

A number of bequests follow, the one more ridiculous than the other. Sagon begs to be flayed before his death, that he may not die " en peau de veau." To Huet

> Je donne et laisse tout exprès
> De sonnettes ung beau jouet:
> Ou bien, s'il vault mieulx, le fouet.

As for the *Coup d'essay*,

> Je le baille sans prendre tresve
> A lire aux Goulpharins de Grève
> Ou de l'escolle.

If these worthies decline to accept the ill-fated volume, it may be given to the pork butcher or the butter merchant as wrapping paper, and in case they refuse it, it may be used for a purpose that Rabelais would have doubtless recommended. The envious Sagon bequeaths his venomous tongue to the gossips and scandal-mongers, with the suggestion that they curb it with a bit or a gag. He then summons enough strength to salute his conqueror, the nimble-witted Frippelippes:

> A toy, . . .
> Monsieur Frippelippes, je laisse,
> Pource que tu m'as bien gallé
> Et mon cacquet fort ravallé,
> Une belle couronne verte
> De laurier.

Having received absolution, Sagon takes leave of his weeping friends, and yields up the ghost. [1]

Let us now examine the attacks which Sagon and his partisans directed against " the disciples and friends of Clément Marot."

The author of the *Grande généalogie de Frippelippes, composée par ung jeune poète champestre*,[2] was one of the first of the " Sagon-

[1] E. C. Perrow, in his article on the last will and testament as a form of literature (*Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, vol. xvii, pp. 682 ff.), makes no mention of Calvy's *Complainte et testament*. Mr. Perrow calls attention to the influence of Villon on the testament as a literary *genre*.

[2] M. Bonnefon suggests that either La Hueterie or Mathieu de Vaucelles composed the *Généalogie*.

neaux" to single out Charles Fontaine. In this poem, the most obscene that appeared in the course of the controversy, occurs the following apostrophe to Frippelippes and Fontaine:

> Vien çà, Fripet, qui à tout mal s'atirre,
> Je te cognoys, j'entendz bien ta satyre.
> Présumes tu, et toy et ton Fontaines,
> Faire tarir les sources tant haultaines
> Au filz Cretin,[1] dont tout sçavoir distille ?

In the *Deffense de Sagon contre Clément Marot*, the field widens. Sagon, the author of this volume, devotes a great part of it not only to Fontaine, but also to Glotelet and Des Périers. In a *Dizain de trois disciples de Marot, Gloutelet, Bonaventure et Fonteynes*, Sagon accuses these poets of merely adding to Marot's already bad reputation:

> D'ung Gloutelet Marot à son besoing
> A faict servir l'*Apologie* obscure:
> Mais il n'est rien des Muses autant loing.
> Grâces n'y sont, ne le facond Mercure.
> Il est bien vray qu'avec Bonaventure
> Il rencontra Fontaines à plaisir.
> Ces troys ont creu tellement son désir
> De se purger d'erreur vil et immunde,
> Qu'en le faisant acquiert par desplaisir
> Erreur nouveau et mauvais bruict du monde.

It is especially in the *Confutation aux disciples dudict Marot*, which forms a part of the *Deffense*, that Sagon rebukes Fontaine, Des Périers, and Glotelet. He begins by chiding Marot's defenders for upholding such an unworthy poet. Why did not La Borderie, Lyon Jamet, and the others to whom Marot appealed also come to his rescue ?

> Je n'entendz pas que ce peult estre,
> Si non que chacun d'eux s'est teu,
> Faisant de silence vertu:
> Et en cela le monde estime
> Qu'ilz ont augmenté leur estime:
> Et non ceulx qui se sont nommez,
> Pour estre au peuple renommez
> Par moyen des Muses haultaines.

[1] That is, Sagon.

Sagon names the trio against whom he has a particular grudge, and warns them that he is going to deal harshly with them:

Tu en es ung, Charles Fonteynes,
Toy l'autre, ignare Gloutelet:
Non pas ignare, mais follet,
Où ne cheust onc la congnoissance
Qu'il faisoit oultre sa puissance.
Bonaventure est des mignons,
Et bien souvent des compaignons,
Quant il faict au maistre lecture.
A ces troys vueil faire droicture,
Les remercyant grandement
D'avoir mys leur entendement
A porter l'honneur de leur maistre.

Glotelet is the first object of Sagon's wrath. Sagon is of the opinion that Glotelet alone did not write the *Apologie* to which his name was attached, but that it was the result of the collaboration of Glotelet, Marot, and a mysterious third person of Angers or Poitiers:

Il est donc à maistre Clément,
Qui l'a refondu en sa forge:
Non est, j'ay menty par la gorge:
Il seroit plus tost à un tiers
D'Angiers (ce me semble) ou Poictiers,
Qui premier a basty l'ouvrage:
L'autre le meit en dur langage,
Et l'ung des trois plus délinquent
L'a faict ung peu plus éloquent.
Par quoy véritable me semble
Que l'œuvre est à tous trois ensemble.

Sagon next assails Fontaine, and as usual seems to regard him as the chief of the "Marotteaux." He repeats the charge that Fontaine had no hand in the composition of the *Épître à Sagon et à La Hueterie:*

O menteur en choses certaines,
Nommeray je Charles Fontaines ?
L'esprit m'enhorte et dist que non,
Puis qu'il ne preste que le nom:
Toutesfoys icy je le nomme,
Affin de veoir l'herreur de l'homme.

Qui te faict disciple à louer
Pour malfaict d'aultruy advouer ?
Sçais tu pas bien que ton épistre
Est trois fois imprimée au tiltre
De Marot, ton maistre et régent ?
T'a il donné or ou argent
Pour confesser l'épistre tienne,
Qui en son erreur estoit sienne ?
L'escript que j'y ay respondu
Avoit ce rat pelé tondu.[1]

Des Périers's turn comes next. He offended Sagon deeply when he began his *Pour Marot absent contre Sagon* with Sagon's motto, *Velà de quoy:*

Me tiendray je muet et coy
Au chiffreur de Velà de quoy ?
Ce mot est ce pas ma devise ?
Bonaventure, je t'advise
Qu'ayant par ce mot commencé,
Ton sot escript m'a offensé.
As tu point eu temps et espace
A commencer d'une autre grâce ?

After a few remarks on Des Périers's prosody, Sagon closes the *Confutation* with a reference to the anonymous defenders of Marot:

Aultres disciples ont escript,
Lesquelz ont eu meilleur esprit
Que vous trois d'une seule chose,
Qu'aucun d'iceulx nommer ne s'ose.
Ilz sont sages et bien discretz
D'avoir tenu leurs noms secretz.
Au moins si l'œuvre on veult reprendre,
On ne sçaura à qui s'en prendre.[2]

[1] Sagon's response to Fontaine's epistle cannot be found. The expression *rat pelé* refers to Marot, who had been *rappelé* from Italy by Francis I.

It will be remembered that in his epistle Fontaine criticized the poetic ability of Sagon and La Hueterie and their choice of rimes. Sagon devotes several pages of the *Confutation* to picking flaws in Fontaine's verses. His criticisms are so puerile and are couched in such grotesque language that they are quite unworthy of reproduction.

[2] The *Deffense de Sagon* contains several woodcuts which are as inane as the poems they accompany. A piece entitled *Pour les disciples de Marot. Le page de Sagon*

The quarrel had now lasted for months, some thirty pamphlets had been circulated, and still the end seemed far distant. A great number of more or less obscure rimesters had taken sides with one or the other of the principals,[1] and ground out French, Latin, and Greek poems. The dispute was becoming uninteresting on account of its onesidedness. Marot, reënforced by Des Périers, Charles Fontaine, Calvy de la Fontaine, Claude Collet, Glotelet, and numerous unknown and anonymous writers, had, in the opinion of the public, routed the opposition. In the beginning, readers had manifested the deepest interest in the controversy, but when it developed into a seemingly interminable squabble, interest gave way to disgust. An anonymous writer, for instance, protested thus:

> Un autre mal advient de vos débats:
> On voit crier et battre haut et bas
> Tant de criards, criant de tous côtés,
> Les gens en ont les cerveaux assotés
> Et étourdis: car un petit follet
> S'en va criant *le Débat du valet*
> *Clément Marot contre François Sagon:*
> Un autre vient qui crie en son jargon,
> Portant o soi de papiers un paquet:
> Qui veut, qui veut *le Rabais du caquet*
> *De Frippelippes et de Marot Clément,*
> *Dit rat pelé.*[2]

parle à eulx is embellished with a woodcut representing a marsh and croaking frogs, with the inscription *Praeter loquacitatem habent nihil.* The *Confutation* is preceded by a woodcut showing four dogs baying at the moon, with the inscription *Pro consuetudine latrant,* all an allusion to the stupidity of Marot's followers in replying to Sagon's *Coup d'Essay.* At the end of the volume is a woodcut in which Glotelet, Claude Collet, Des Périers, and Charles Fontaine are shown in a cage with a parrot, while Mathieu de Boutigny, Sagon's page, delivers them a lecture from the outside. The following inscription is intended to add piquancy to the illustration: *Nephanda loquuti, discite a Psitaco perfectiora loqui.* These and other woodcuts are reproduced in Guiffrey, vol. i.

[1] For example, "Sagonneaux": Nicolas Denisot, François Denisot, and François Roussin; "Marotteaux": François Ferrand, François Gaucher, Christophe Richer, Benedictus Serhisaeus, Janus Parrhasius, Jacques de Mabrée, and Edmond de Noue.

[2] M. Bonnefon, from whom I take this quotation and the following one, has modernized the orthography. Cf. *Revue d'Hist. litt. de la France,* pp. 276 and 266.

The virtual surrender of Sagon hastened the end of the dispute. In an epistle to Marot he says:

Prends le cas que je te blessai,
Marot, ce fut d'un coup d'essai
Qui de plus près suit l'aventure
Que la malice de nature.
Si tu avais cœur ennobli,
Ta vertu l'eût mis en oubli
Et n'en ferais mémoire aucune
Par remords d'envie ou rancune.
J'ai eu raison de l'avoir fait
Au temps que ton vice et forfait
T'avait contraint quitter la France.
Maintenant tu as délivrance:
Bien de par Dieu j'en suis joyeux
Si ton malfait se change en mieux . . .
Et toutefois n'est le moyen
Comme il faut vivre en bon chrétien.
On n'acquiert la gloire éternelle
Par dissension fraternelle:
Par opprobre, injure ou médits
On s'eslongne du paradis,
Et pour trouver miséricorde
Faut oublier toute discorde.

Feeling that the quarrel was too long-drawn, peacemakers began to crop up. Germain Colin Bucher and several anonymous writers endeavored to reconcile the disputants, but to no avail. Finally the wrangle became insufferable, and the whole matter was taken in hand by a frolicsome society of Rouen, the *Confrérie des Conards*, which made a practice of ridiculing the absurdities that came under its observation. After several publications, in which the jesters of Rouen showed a tendency to uphold Marot, there was issued a pamphlet, *Le Banquet d'Honneur sur la paix faite entre Clément Marot, Françoys Sagon, Frippelippes, Hueterie et autres de leurs ligues* (1537), in which peace is supposed to be made between the warring factions.

The *Banquet d'Honneur* is not at all favorable to Sagon. It reflects the feelings of the general public, and indicates that Sagon's unmanly attack on the banished Marot was condemned

by all unprejudiced minds. The poem is of importance for the history of Charles Fontaine's career. It shows that a disinterested contemporary regarded him as Marot's chief ally. He was the only one of the " Marotteaux " chosen to accompany his master and Frippelippes to the closing scene of the dispute.

The plan of the *Banquet d'Honneur* is ingenious. The author supposes that, while out walking one morning, Honneur meets Hermes on his way to Paris. In reply to Honneur's request for the news of the day, Hermes says that a single topic is occupying the minds of the people: two dolts, Sagon and La Hueterie, have had the temerity to attack Clément Marot, and their outrageous conduct has caused a scandal. Upon ascertaining the cause of the misunderstanding between the poets, Honneur decides to effect a reconciliation. To that end, he asks Hermes to invite the disputants to a banquet which he purposes to give on Mount Parnassus. Choosing a suitable place, Hermes sounds his trumpet thrice, and issues the following invitation:

> Venez y tous, entre autres, viens, Marot,
> Viens tost, page, laisse brusler ton rost.
> Suis ton maistre Sagon, toy, Hueterie,
> Fais bonne mine et garde que ne rye.
> Frippelippes, ne demeure derrière,
> Auprès ton maistre auras place première.
> Viens y aussi tost, Charles Fontaines,
> Fort estimé des Muses très haultaines.

Both sides make ready to go to the banquet. Upon reaching Parnassus, Marot, Frippelippes, Charles Fontaine, and the abbé des Conards ascend without difficulty. Honneur receives them most cordially. But what has become of Sagon and his band ? Honneur, despairing of their ever being able to climb the mount, opens the banquet without them. Marot and his followers are preparing to enjoy themselves, when a most wretched company arrives, tattered and torn and out of breath: it is the " Sagonneaux," who had overestimated their acquaintance with the tortuous paths of Parnassus. As soon as the belated guests recuperate, Honneur provides them with seats, and the banquet begins.

Beau-parler, Taire, Loyauté, Courtoisie, and Vaillance are among the banqueters. The feast ended, Honneur makes inquiries concerning the causes of the quarrel between Marot and Sagon. Marot informs him that Sagon is to blame:

> En mon absence il feist son *Coup d'essay*,
> Pensant que plus en France, bien le sçay,
> Venir ne deusse, et que de prime face
> Il obtiendroit mon lieu royal et place.

Marot then enumerates the slanderous writings circulated by Sagon, La Hueterie, and their partisans. During Marot's discourse Sagon fidgets in his seat, and finally, terror-stricken, blurts out:

> Hélas, respond Sagon, mes vrays amys,
> Je recongnois les faultes qu'ay commis:
> Pensant avoir bruit et renom d'escrire,
> Contre l'honneur de Marot, pour vray dire,
> En mes escriptz ay mis plus de cent mots
> Pour faire rire, ainsi comme ung marmot
> Qui contrefait tout cela qu'il voit faire,
> Ou pour le moins tasche à le contrefaire.

After throwing a part of the blame on La Hueterie, Sagon begs Marot's forgiveness, and obtains it. Honneur then draws up articles of peace, in which he declares that if his guests ever engage in another such quarrel, they cannot hope to be received again in his palace.

The *Banquet d'Honneur* had the desired effect. Such a stinging rebuke from a citizen of his native city was more than the pride of Sagon could bear. He awoke to the fact that everybody shared the opinion of Étienne Dolet:

> Dum tu Marotum scripto
> inepto et ridiculo
> Lacessis, ac stulte exagitas,
> quidnam facis,
> Sagonte ? Te praebes stolidum
> atque ridiculum.[1]

[1] *Stephani Doleti Galli Aurelii Carminum libri quatuor*, Lyons, 1538, p. 30.

Sagon eased his wounded feelings by hurling a few parting shafts at Marot and the Conards, and then retired to a secluded spot, far from the jeers of the world.[1]

On the whole, the controversy between Marot and Sagon was a ridiculous and puerile affair; at no time did it assume the aspect of a true literary quarrel. Obscenity, vituperation, and nonsense were too often mistaken for wit and satire. As one glances over the large number of pieces published before the *Banquet d'Honneur* called a halt, one readily sees that only a few are worthy of attention. Marot's Frippelippes was the hero of the dispute, and resounding were the whacks that he administered to his adversaries; Calvy de la Fontaine's *Complainte et testament* is commendable for its humor; Charles Fontaine's epistle is noteworthy for its straightforward criticisms, its moderation, and its lack of coarseness; the *Banquet d'Honneur*, beneath a barbarous style, hides a clever plan. Not a single contribution by the "Sagonneaux" is of sufficient merit to leave the slightest favorable impression on the mind of the reader.

Despite the childish nature of the quarrel, it occurred at a most opportune time for Charles Fontaine. One of the first to take up the cudgels for Marot, he attracted the attention of Sagon and his adherents throughout the course of the controversy, and played a prominent part in the poem that brought it to an end. Such an intimate connection with the most celebrated poet of the period could but work to Fontaine's advantage. Although only twenty-three years old when the *Banquet d'Honneur* appeared, his name had already become a familiar one in the world of letters.

[1] At the time of his death, in 1544, before August 19, Sagon was the parish priest at Sérigny. Marot also died in 1544, probably in August.

CHAPTER III

EARLY FRIENDS, ITALIAN JOURNEY, AND MARRIAGE

Friends and eulogists. — Francis I. — Saint Augustine's *Premier livre de la prédestination des sainctz.* — Fontaine's prose. — The Duke of Orléans. — Renée de France. — Italy. — Ferrara. — Lyon Jamet. — Death of Catherine Fontaine. — Fontaine weds Marguerite Carme.

THERE has never been, perhaps, more jealousy and bickering among literary men than during the Renaissance in France: Sagon assailed Marot, and Marot fell out with Dolet; Dolet quarrelled with Ducher, Voulté, and Rabelais; Mellin de Saint-Gelais tried to belittle the verses of his younger and more gifted rival, Ronsard; Guillaume des Autelz felt bound to reply to the "furious defense" of Louis Meigret; Jules-César Scaliger, a most cantankerous person, sought to disparage Rabelais; Jacques Charpentier wrangled with Ramus, and caused his murder at the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew. On the other hand, friends have never showered more extravagant eulogies upon one another than during the sixteenth century in France, when it was quite the fashion for acquaintances to insert verses of praise in almost every volume published. Between these extremes, envious vituperation and jealous quarrels on the one hand, and indiscriminate eulogy on the other, there was a mean which is worthy of consideration. If a writer could win the praise of confrères who were strangers, or at least not close friends, such praise probably represented the true feelings of the eulogists. After the close of the controversy between Marot and Sagon, Charles Fontaine received just such praise. Two poets, strangely enough both Latin poets, with whom in all likelihood he did not have an intimate acquaintance, spoke of him and his writings in laudatory terms

in 1538, the year following the appearance of the *Banquet d'Honneur*.[1]

Nicolas Bourbon, or, as he is better known, Borbonius, the celebrated humanist, whose poems teem with valuable information concerning the men of letters of the time, pays the following tribute to Fontaine's verses:

> Rythmos tuos vernaculos, Musam tuam
> Lingua loquentem patria,
> Mirantur omnes, Carole, et merito quidem:
> Nam sermo per te Gallicus
> Illustrior multo nitet, et iucundior,
> Fluitque multo purior.[2]

Jean Voulté, or Vulteius, who, as a Latin poet, was as famous as Borbonius, not only sings the praises of Maître Charles, but gives a brief description of his personal appearance, according to which he was small in stature and had red hair:

> Qui te credidit esse me, parum ille
> Vidit, Carole: nam nihil duobus
> Nobis dissimile est magis, tui seu
> Spectes corporis ipsius figuram,
> Dotes seu ingenii pii beatas.
> Ruffum te audio, ruffus ipse non sum.
> Parvo in corpore te fovere magnas
> Virtutes scio, sentio in sat amplo
> Nullas corpore, vel leves profecto.
> Ad haec carmine Gallico domare
> Tigres vel rapidas potes, vel ipsas
> (Durae sint licet) excitare quercus:
> Contra carminibus meis, Latina
> Condo quae male, concito in furorem
> Jam mites iterum feras: et ut res
> Concludam quod habet semel, mihi te
> Qui dixit similem est vel arbitratus
> Te esse me, hunc puto tum fuisse caecum.
> Quod si esses (ut ais) poeta qui sum,

[1] Fontaine's contributions to the quarrel between Marot and Sagon were not the only poems that he produced prior to 1538. In 1537 he published a reply to Almaque Papillon's *Victoire et triumphe d'Argent;* a synopsis of this reply will be given in chapter v. It is likely that he circulated other works in manuscript.

[2] *Nicolai Borbonii . . . Nugarum libri octo*, Lyons, 1538, p. 146.

A te longe alius fores poeta.
Nam qui Gallicus es bonus poeta,
Esses, Carole, pessimus Latinus.[1]

A third Latin poet, Gilbert Ducher, seems to have been more closely acquainted with Fontaine than Borbonius and Vulteius. In his *Epigrammata* he addressed a short poem *Ad Carolum Fontanum Parisiensem*, and in the same volume Fontaine inserted a Latin quatrain in honor of Ducher.[2]

Fontaine furnishes information concerning other friendships formed with eminent men before his permanent departure from Paris. Foremost among his early friends must be mentioned Pierre Saliat. A quatrain addressed by Fontaine to " M. Saliat, qui a traduit Hérodote de grec en françois," adverts to the intimacy between the two authors:

Dieu gard qui par vertu s'allie
A[3] la Muse et à la Fontaine:
Vingt ans y a qu' Apollo lie
Telle alliance sus la Seine.[4]

A passage in the dedicatory letter of Fontaine's *Épistres d'Ovide* (1552) addressed by him to Antoine de Crussol,[5] "seigneur dudict lieu, seneschal de Cahors en Querci, et l'un des cent gentilshommes de la chambre du Roy," gives evidence of Fontaine's acquaintance not only with Saliat, but with Crussol as well:

Au reste, Monseigneur, combien que vous ayez en vostre jeune aage esté instruict et assez avancé en la langue latine par le moyen de monsieur Saliat (homme rempli tant de bonnes mœurs que de doctrine ès trois langues,

[1] *Io. Vulteii Rhemensis Hendecasyllaborum libri quatuor*, Paris, 1538, fol. 93. In *Ioan. Vulteii Rhemi Inscriptionum libri duo*, Paris, 1538, p. 20, there is a quatrain *Ad Vulteium Carolus Fontanus*.

[2] *Gilberti Ducherii Vultonis Aquapersani Epigrammaton libri duo*, Lyons, 1538, pp. 133 and 158.

[3] *S'allie à* is a pun on Saliat.

[4] *Les Nouvelles et antiques merveilles* (1554): *Ode pour Dieu gard à la ville de Paris*. In *Nicolai Borbonii . . . Nugarum libri octo*, p. 478, there is a poem *De P. Saliato, L. Querculo, C. Fontano amicis conjunctis*.

[5] Son of Charles de Crussol and Jeanne de Genouillac. The ruined château of Crussol is situated on the Rhône, near Valence.

grecque, latine, et françoise, et grant amy mien et familier dès ma jeunesse, auquel entre autres choses, je suis tenu de la congnoissance et familiarité que j'ay eue autresfois avec vous), etc.

Another early friend of Fontaine was Denys Sauvage who, later, under the name of "le sieur du Parc," became the historiographer of Henry II. Fontaine inscribed many epigrams to Sauvage, who repaid the compliment by penning an epithalamium in honor of Fontaine's first marriage.[1]

When, through his writings and his literary relations, Fontaine had won a prominent position in the world of letters, he turned his attention toward those persons who were most able to reward his efforts. In his day, when the sales of books were small, a poet of modest circumstances could scarcely hope to earn a livelihood with his pen. A patron alone could take the place of large and numerous editions. Imitating some of his most successful contemporaries, Fontaine first sought to win the favor of Francis I. He addressed many verses to the king, and yet it is almost certain that his fair words brought no substantial result. Other more influential and more gifted writers gained the prizes and the protection of the "Father of Letters."

An epistle to Francis I is of importance for Fontaine's bibliography, since it contains a reference to a work of which no other trace remains:

Si vostre esprit . . .
Vient à penser qui auroit peu induire
Ma Muse basse à ce livre traduire,
Plus tost que nul des autres de l'auteur,
Dond le renom croist en toute haulteur . . .
J'ay donc éleu ce livret cy pourtant
Que de santé l'auteur y va traitant,
Et qu'il vault mieux estre sain que malade . . .
Vous y verrez comme on doit s'occuper,
Pour toute oysive occasion coupper,
Ou en l'amour de victoire par guerre,
Ou à chacer, ou cultiver la terre:
Qui sont trois pointz de noblesse tenans,
Qui sont trois pointz à vous appartenans.[2]

[1] Cf. p. 54, below.

[2] *Les Ruisseaux*, p. 5: *Épître au Roy, à qui l'auteur adressoit une sienne traduction.*

This epistle also contains an allusion to the appointment of the *lecteurs royaux:*

> Qui ornez vostre université saincte
> De gens lettrez et de science mainte:
> Qui long temps a, et de propos certain,
> Avez conceu en vostre esprit haultain
> D'édifier un trilingue collège,
> Et l'enrichir de maint grand privilège.

In an epigram [1] Fontaine refers to another work that he presented to Francis I:

> Puys qu'il a pleu à ton cueur tant humain
> Mon œuvre ouÿr, le tenir en ta main,
> Et son autheur retenir en mémoire,
> Faisant de luy mencion bien notoire.[2]

Encouraged by the king's complaisance, Fontaine offered him still another work, a prose translation of the first book of Saint Augustine's *De Praedestinatione Sanctorum.*[3]

It is to be regretted that Fontaine wrote but little prose. As early as his correspondence with Jean Dugué, he was proud of his prose style:

> Et qui verroit de ma prose, peut estre
> Ne me prendroit pour en vers me cognoistre.

The excellence of Fontaine's prose did not escape the critical eye of Guillaume Colletet who, in his *Vies des poètes françois*, says: "Fontaine composa des œuvres en prose que j'estime beaucoup plus que ses vers même, puisqu'elle est forte et raisonnable et, ce me semble, plus polie que son temps ne sembloit le permettre."

[1] Here, as often in the sixteenth century, epigram means merely a short poem on a single thought or event.

[2] *La Fontaine d'amour* (1545): *Au Roy. A qui l'autheur avoit fait présenter un livre.* Francis I also had the patience to listen to Fontaine's reading of a mediocre dizain (which is in *Les Ruisseaux*, p. 100).

[3] This translation, which I discovered in manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Manuscrits français, 13201), bears the following title: *Le Premier livre de la prédestination des sainctz, composé par sainct Augustin.* The volume is not dated, but the work was probably translated about 1540.

The following extract from the dedicatory epistle of the *Premier livre de la prédestination des sainctz* confirms Colletet's opinion:

Mais je preins icy la prédestination pour prescience ou providence, considérant aussi que moy (quel que je soye) j'ay ung petit expérimenté, comme Dieu m'en a faict la grâce, la grande vertu et efficace de la congnoissance de ceste prédestination. C'est à sçavoir qu'elle m'a consolé en tribulation, esperonné en la course de bonne vie, asseuré en doubte, et brief, qu'elle m'a donné une indicible paix de conscience et une confirmation contre toute adversité. A ces causes et moyens j'ay esté mœu et incité de mectre la main à ceste œuvre: c'est que j'ay traduit au proufit et édification de plusieurs (que je croy) ce petit livre de sainct Augustin intitulé Premier livre de la prédestination des sainctz. . . . Plusieurs vous offrent et dédient des livres des histoires, plusieurs des livres d'oratoire, plusieurs de la manière de bien gouverner ung royaulme, ce qui est trèsbien et louablement faict. Mais il m'a semblé aussi bon (je ne dy pas meilleur) de vous desdier cestuy cy, lequel iaçoit qu'il soyt de matière haulte et dont on mect bien peu en lumière, toutesfoys j'ay esté et suis en ceste oppignion que bien ne doibt estre caché à vostre majesté haulte, et ay réputé que le prendriez non comme moy parlant en escripvant à vous, mais comme sainct Augustin. Et si plusieurs novices en latin et de petit jugement naturel le peuvent veoir et lire en latin, combien plus sera loysible à vostre esprit si parfaict et si agu de le veoir traicté en la langue qui luy est propre et naturelle. Il m'est advis, Sire, et vrayment je ne faindray de le dire, qu'il n'y a livre au monde de sens si profond, de matière si haulte, de diction si élégante que ce me soyt mespris de le vouloir cacher à tel personnage et à tel esprit.

There is no proof, as I have said already, that Fontaine received any reward for his efforts to please Francis I. That he was more successful in his relations with Francis's son, the Duke of Orléans,[1] may be judged from the following passage:

. . . attendu le grand renom de vostre humanité très grande, et singulière amour des letres: lequel n'est sans le fait, comme moy indigne ay cogneu par expérience, quand par plusieurs fois de vostre grâce et bénignité naturelle m'avez fait recueil à Paris, lieu de ma naissance, où vous ay premièrement présenté quelque chant de ma petite Muse, qu'avez si bien pris, qu'après en avoir eu la lecture l'envoyastes à madame Marguerite, vostre trèsnoble et trèsvertueuse sœur, comme monsieur Maynus,[2] homme, certes, non moins comblé de science que de bonté et humanité m'a récité: qui en

[1] Charles (1522–45), son of Francis I and Claude de France. Marguerite (1523–79), Charles's sister, mentioned below, married the Duke of Savoy in 1559.

[2] Guillaume du Maine, " conseiller et aumônier du duc d'Orléans " (*Catalogue des actes de François Ier*, vol. iv, p. 216, no. 11995).

fut luymesme le porteur et lecteur par vostre commandement: et, ce fait, commandastes de vostre libéralité que me fust délivré quelque présent.[1]

Notwithstanding the encouragement and the liberality of the Duke of Orléans, Fontaine did not find in Paris the patronage he had anticipated. Undismayed, he determined to seek a more appreciative protector elsewhere. It was natural that he should remember that his friend Clément Marot, during his flight after the *affaire des placards*, had been welcomed by the sympathetic Duchess of Ferrara, Renée de France, one of the most charming women of the time, of whom even the gossip Brantôme speaks in the following complimentary terms:

Bref, ceste princesse estoit bien fille de France, vraie en bonté et charité. Elle avoit aussi le cœur fort grand et haut. Je luy ay veue en Italie, et à la court, garder aussi bien son rang qu'il estoit possible: et encore qu'elle aparust n'avoir pas l'apparance extérieure tant grande, à cause de la gasture de son corps, si est ce qu'elle en avoit beaucoup en sa majesté, monstrant bien en sa grandeur et en son visage royal et en sa parade qu'elle estoit bien fille de roy [2] et de France.[3]

Besides Fontaine's desire to win the protection of the Duchess of Ferrara, he was surely spurred on also by a wish to visit some of the principal cities of Italy, which had been " discovered " only a half-century before. In addition, there was the attraction of the Lyonese school of poets, and Lyons lay directly in his path to Italy. These inducements, reënforced by a young man's eagerness for adventure, soon led him to quit Paris. He chose an economical method of making the journey, — he joined the army of a " belliqueur," [4] perhaps, as Goujet conjectures, as a poet, and

[1] *La Fontaine d'amour* (1545), dedicatory epistle.

[2] Renée was the daughter of Louis XII.

[3] *Œuvres de Brantôme*, Lalanne edition, vol. viii, p. 113.

[4] Cf. p. 53, note 2, below. It is impossible to identify the warrior with whom Fontaine went. Francis I's hobby, the acquisition of the Duchy of Milan, caused him to send a number of armies to Italy. In 1540, which seems to be the date of Fontaine's journey to Italy, there was no active campaign in Piedmont. The country was, however, in a state of turmoil: the French, the new masters, were endeavoring to quell the outbreaks of brigands, mutinous soldiers, and other disturbers. Guillaume du Bellay, who in 1539 became the real governor of Piedmont,

not as a soldier.[1] Thanks to his proneness to talk about himself, we are able to follow him in his travels. He mentions some of the cities he visited and a few of the friends he made. Upon reaching Lyons, he penned the following *Dieu gard:*

Dieu gard Lyon, la clef de France,
Pleine de gens et de chevance:
Dieu gard Lyon, qu'en marchandise
Par dessus toute autre l'on prise:
Dieu gard Lyon, dont m'esmerveille,
Après Paris la nompareille:
Dieu gard Lyon bien décorée
De mainte déesse honorée:
Dieu gard les seigneurs et les dames,
Dieu gard les corps et plus les âmes:
Dieu gard le Rosne avec la Saône:
Que fussiez vous vin blanc de Beaune,
Ou encor meilleur ou plus doux,
Croyez que j'en beurois à vous.[2]

It is impossible to say how long Fontaine remained in Lyons. We may be sure that he lost no time in making the acquaintance of some of the literary men and women of the city, Maurice Scève, Barthélemy Aneau, Louise Labé, Pernette du Guillet, and others, with whom he was to spend a great part of his life. It is not unlikely, as Goujet suggests, that at this time Maître Charles

under the nominal authority of Marshal d'Annebaut, tried to establish order until his death in 1543. But for certain dates furnished by Fontaine himself (see p. 51, note 4, below), I should be inclined to conjecture that he was in Italy in 1542. In July, 1542, war broke out again in Piedmont between the French and the Spanish, and (see p. 52, below) Fontaine gives the impression that he had seen actual fighting in Italy. In 1541 Guillaume du Bellay went back to France, and in May, 1542, returned to Piedmont. In view of the fact that punning — often very bad punning — was held in high esteem in the sixteenth century, it would not be too absurd to guess that Du Bellay was the "belliqueur" whom Fontaine accompanied. In the *Ruisseaux*, p. 121, Fontaine published a poem entitled *De la mort de Monsieur de Langey* (G. du Bellay). For another mention of Du Bellay, see Fontaine's letter to Jean de Morel, p. 151, below.

[1] Jules [Caesar] fut à Mars adonné,
Et moy bien peu, ou du tout non. (*Les Ruisseaux*, p. 68.)

[2] *Les Ruisseaux*, p. 60: *Dieu gard à la ville de Lyon, faict l'an 1540.*

also first met Marguerite Carme, the maid of Lyons who later became his wife. However, he could not linger for friends or sweetheart; his actions were regulated by those of the army of which he formed a part. He crossed the Alps, and stopped at Turin, where he remained long enough to translate a work, the *Translat de Duel*, of which nothing further is known.[1] While in Piedmont, he made the acquaintance of "M. de Chemant, président de Piedmont,"[2] and of "M. Danebault, lieutenant pour le roy en Piedmont."[3] To the former he addressed an epigram upon arriving in Piedmont, to the latter an epigram upon setting out for Ferrara and Venice.

Fontaine made the journey from Turin to Ferrara on the Po, visiting several of the cities that lie along its banks.[4] He stopped first at Pavia, and it must have been with great interest that he beheld the city where, some fifteen years before, Francis I had been taken prisoner by the Spaniards, and where Clément Marot, fighting beside his king, had received a wound in the arm. While in Pavia, Fontaine met Antoine Pérard, who addressed to him this quatrain:

> I, pete Maurusios, Numidas, Libyae extima quantum,
> O Fontane, voles, vel glaciale fretum:
> Non tamen a nostra tolleris mente, sed idem
> Est detenturus certus utrumque locus.[5]

[1] Fontaine mentions the *Translat de Duel* in the dedicatory epistle of his *Épitomé des trois premiers livres de Artemidorus* (1546). See p. 126, note 3, below.

[2] *La Fontaine d'amour.*—François Errault, seigneur de Chemans, was appointed "président du Parlement de Piémont" on Feb. 16, 1539, and still held the position on Nov. 28, 1543 (*Catalogue des actes de François Ier*, vol. vi, p. 530, no. 21650, and vol. iv, p. 523, no. 13457).

[3] *La Fontaine d'amour.* — Marshal d'Annebaut was appointed governor-general of Piedmont on September 28, 1539 (*Cat. des actes de François Ier*, vol. vii, p. 263, no. 24504).

[4] *Les Ruisseaux*, p. 97: *Apostrophe au Pau, rivière d'Italie, sus laquelle l'auteur alla de Turin à Venise.* Inasmuch as Venice is not on the Po, Fontaine evidently meant that he made a part of the journey from Turin to Venice on the Po.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 321: *Antonius Perardus ad C. Fontanum Papia discedentem.* Antoine Pérard took part in the *Passetemps des amis*, an exchange of poems carried on by Fontaine and his friends. Cf. pp. 210 ff., below.

Continuing his journey down the Po, Fontaine stopped at Cremona and Mantua, and finally at Ferrara. Upon his arrival at Ferrara, he presented to Renée de France a poem in which he made known to her that she alone was the cause of his undertaking so long a journey; nor did he fail to tell her that he hoped his appeal might not be without some remuneration:

Fille de Roy et trèshaute duchesse,
Fleuron du lys, fleur de toute noblesse,
Fille de Roy, diray je plus grand cas ?
Fille de Dieu et trèsbonne Dorcas:
Si ta bonté, par tout tant décorée,
Si ta vertu, des cieux mesme admirée,
A fait monter la Fontaine en maint mont
Et transverser la France et le Piedmont,
En querant droit de ton païs la rive,
Où à présent grâce à Dieu elle arrive,
Pour saluer ta hautesse tant pleine,
Au son tant bas de sa petite veine:
Tu dois penser que son petit povoir
N'est sans avoir pour guyde grant espoir.[1]

Despite these respectful lines, Renée did not recompense Fontaine, and the reason is not far to seek. The year 1540, the probable date of Fontaine's arrival at Ferrara, was one of the most critical in Renée's sad life. Her distrustful husband, Ercole d'Este, was then bending every energy to prevent her from espousing Protestantism, even going so far as to exile her to the château of Consandolo and to place her under the surveillance of the disreputable François Richardot.[2] She was too much engrossed with her own cares to give heed to Fontaine's entreaties.[3]

[1] *Les Ruisseaux*, p. 46: *A Madame Renée de France, Duchesse de Ferrare.* For a similar greeting to Renée by Marot, see Guiffrey, vol. iii, p. 281. Fontaine inscribed several poems to Renée; also several to Renée's daughter, for example (*ibid.*, p. 90): *A très noble et très florissante princesse, Madame la Princesse de Ferrare, du temps de sa venue en France, et de ses nopces avec Monsieur d'Aumale, à présent Duc de Guise.*

[2] Cf. E. Rodocanachi, *Renée de France*, Paris, 1896, chap. vii.

[3] Concerning Renée's readiness to assist needy Frenchmen, cf. Brantôme, Lalanne edition, vol. viii, p. 110: " Jamais François, passant par Ferrare, ayant nécessité et s'adressant à elle, n'a party d'avecq'elle, qu'elle ne luy donnast une

That Renée did not assist him is proved by the fact that while at Ferrara his purse was so light that Lyon Jamet, Marot's warm friend, then secretary to Renée, felt it his duty to offer him aid.[1] Fontaine refers to Jamet's act of kindness in no less than three poems:

> Quand la bourse me présentas,
> Et vuidant d'escus un grand tas,
> Tu me dis qu'à mon gré j'en prinsse,
> Foy d'homme, c'estoit fait en prince:
> Mais quand alors je n'en prins point,
> Je te pry, respond moy d'un point,
> Ami, exemple de tout aage,
> Fus je sot, ou si je fus sage ? [2]

Elsewhere he praises his own forbearance, as well as Jamet's generosity:

> C'est peu de cas d'avoir promis,
> L'on n'en trouve que trop d'amis
> De la parole et du visage:
> Mais qui soyent à tel faict venus
> Comme toy,
> Et qui soyent de prendre abstenus
> Comme moy,
> L'on n'en trouve point en usage.[3]

Fifteen years later Maître Charles's gratitude was still undiminished:

> Dieu gard que jamais je n'oublie
> Qui a ma muse caressée
> Quinze ans y a, quand l'Italie
> Des monts en mer a traversée.[4]

ample aumosne et bon argent pour gaigner son païs et sa maison; et s'il estoit mallade, et qu'il n'eust peu cheminer, elle le faisoit traiter très soigneusement, et puys luy donnoit argent pour se retirer en son pays."

[1] Jamet went to Ferrara in 1535, and stayed there until Renée's return to France in 1560.

[2] *Les Ruisseaux*, p. 112: *A Lyon Jamet, seigneur de Chambrun, secrétaire de Madame Renée de France, Duchesse de Ferrare.*

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 113.

[4] *Les Nouvelles et antiques merveilles: Ode pour Dieu gard à la ville de Paris . . . 1554 en juin.* If " quinze ans y a " is exact, Fontaine was in Italy in 1539. It is, however, probably only an approximation. That Fontaine left Paris in 1540 is

Failing to obtain at Ferrara the reward he had hoped for, Fontaine, after visiting Venice, Milan, and Vercelli, returned to Turin, and prepared to go back to France. Not only was he disappointed in the treatment he had received in Italy, but he was eager to leave a land torn by strife. Upon departing from Turin, he addressed the following verses to his military friends and to Piedmont and its capital:

A Dieu Piedmont, à Dieu Thurin,
A Dieu capitaines de guerre:
A Dieu fifre, à Dieu tabourin,
L'yver crie qu'on se reserre.
Or à Dieu Jean, or à Dieu Pierre,
Je m'en voys me chaufer chez moy,
Au cueur de France et en la terre
Qui est sans guerre et sans esmoy.[1]

To Pierre Saliat he repeats these unmartial sentiments, and adds an unpatriotic touch which tends to verify Goujet's supposition that Fontaine was not the mainstay of the French forces:

J'ay laissé le païs de guerre,
Sçais tu pourquoy, bon amy Pierre ?
Point ne veux mourir pour le Roy:
Je ne veux mourir que pour moy.[2]

Upon his return to Lyons, Fontaine regretted the money he had spent and the works he had lost in Italy:

Voyager loing belle chose est ce,
Quand on revient tel comme on part,
Mais un grand argent s'y départ:
Puis j'y ay laissé ma jeunesse,
Et de mes œuvres une part.[3]

Still, he was proud of his travels and the experience gained through them:

proved by a *Dieu gard* to the city of Paris, written in 1547 (cf. p. 130, below), in which he says that he has not seen Paris for seven years. *Dieu gard à la ville de Lyon, faict l'an 1540* (cf. p. 48, above) was evidently written when Fontaine saw Lyons for the first time.

[1] *La Fontaine d'amour: Adieu à Thurin, l'autheur retournant de Venise.*

[2] *Ibid.: A Maistre Pierre Saliat.* [3] *Les Ruisseaux*, p. 93: *A Pierre Saliat.*

J'ay veu païs deçà, delà les montz,
Dequoy souvent les gens nous estimons:
J'ay, grâce à Dieu, avec quelque science
Conjoint l'usage et longue expérience.[1]

After his travels in Italy, Fontaine did not return to Paris to live, but immediately took up his abode in Lyons.[2] That he had intended to return, at least temporarily, to Paris is evident from the following poem, written at Lyons to a lady of Paris:

Jadis pour voir et pour avoir Hélène
S'en vint de Troye en la Graece Pâris:
Je viens pour vous d'Italie à Paris:
Je croyrois bien que ne le pensez pas:
Mais la grand cause estes de ce grand pas.
Soit à Thurin, à Versel, ou Milan,
Je vous ay eu en cueur le long de l'an,[3]
Soit à Venise, à Mantouë, ou Crémone,
Tousjours pensois à vostre humble personne.
Si lisez bien mon escrit de Lyon,
Le sentirez non sans affection.[4]

Fontaine probably did not carry out his intention to pay court to the Parisian lady who had occupied his thoughts in various Italian cities. He found in Lyons a young woman, Marguerite Carme, who was more to his liking, and married her. Concerning Marguerite, his first wife, Maître Charles gives scant information,

[1] *Les Ruisseaux*, p. 23: *Response par Charles Fontaine* [à E. H.].

[2] Fontaine's sister Catherine died during his stay in Italy:

Perdue l'ay suyvant un belliqueur,
Loing de Paris, voire bien loing j'estois,
Entre les monts la mort je ne doutois:
Et toy, ma sœur, qu'en la plaine laissoye,
Dedans Paris trouvas de mort la voye.

The *Élégie sur le trespas de Catherine Fontaine* (see p. 187, below), from which these lines are taken, contains some information about Catherine. When she died, she was not yet thirty-five years of age; she was married; and she had suffered for five or six years from the malady that caused her death. An early huitain by Fontaine *A sa sœur*, published in the *Fontaine d'amour*, begins:

A toy, ma sœur, ma seule sœur, à toy,
Qui as esprit assez digne de moy.

[3] This verse shows that Fontaine's stay in Italy was fairly long.

[4] *La Fontaine d'amour:* Elegy xxii.

and this silence on the part of a poet who sings profusely the praises of his second wife tends to indicate that the marriage was unhappy. This opinion is strengthened by the fact that after Marguerite Carme's death her relatives involved Fontaine in a lawsuit which cost him heavily, brought him worry and vexation, and for several years made him a conspicuous figure about the courts of Lyons and Paris.

Marguerite Carme was a native of Lyons, as is shown by an epithalamium written by Denys Sauvage, *Éclogue pastoralle sur le mariage de maistre Charles Fontaine, Parisien, et Marguerite Carme, Lyonnoise.*[1] This poem, which is not entirely free from licentiousness, furnishes only a few details concerning Marguerite. Two shepherds, Nyot and Guillot, after some preliminary remarks, say:

GUILLOT

Parlons plus tost de Charlot le berger,
Qui dans briefs jours se veult joindre et ranger
Par mariage à Margot la brunette.

NYOT

A Margot, dea ? Ceste fille jeunette
Que le puissant et noble fleuve Rosne
Ha engendrée en la rivière Saône ?

After some speculation as to the enjoyment the wedding night will bring forth, Guillot offers up a prayer for the happiness of the young couple:

Je prie à Pan qu'aussi Charlot la prise
Tant en son cueur, qu'elle estant vieille et grise,
Ce nonobstant luy semble jeune et blonde.

Concerning Marguerite, Fontaine gives even less information than Sauvage. In a mediocre huitain, he invites six friends to his wedding

avec la Marguerite,
Que luy avoit ce beau champ cy produite.[2]

[1] Published in Fontaine's *Estreines à certains seigneurs et dames de Lyon*, Lyons, 1546, p. 25.

[2] *Les Ruisseaux*, p. 99.

Prior to his marriage,[1] Fontaine was relatively free from care. His relations with Marot, his success as a poet, and the praises he won from contemporary writers probably caused him to overlook the treatment he received from Francis I and others in a position to assist him. The unsuccessful outcome of his journey to Ferrara was not enough to discourage a young man of twenty-six years who, in spite of rebuffs, still had unbounded confidence in himself. His marriage to Marguerite Carme was the beginning of his sorrows. The rest of his life he spent in Lyons. We shall follow the traces left by him there, and also examine the numerous volumes of prose and poetry that he carried to the presses of Jean de Tournes, Thibaud Payen, and other celebrated printers, in the hope that these productions might keep the wolf from the door.

[1] Goujet says that Fontaine and Marguerite were married in 1540, which is very likely correct.

CHAPTER IV

LYONS

Royal visits. — Fairs. — Italians. — Manufacture of silk. — Printing, printers, and engravers. — Men of letters. — Latin poets. — Women. — Reception of Charles Fontaine at Lyons. — His poems in honor of Lyons and its citizens. — *Ode de l'antiquité et excellence de la ville de Lyon.*

When Charles VIII, in opposition to the wishes of his captains and his counsellors, decided to undertake an expedition against Naples, his decision won the hearty approval of the practical and enterprising citizens of Lyons,[1] who foresaw that on account of its geographical situation Lyons would be inevitably chosen as the headquarters of the French troops, and that the presence of the king and his followers would cause in the city an increase in commercial activity which could be brought about in no other way. Their expectations were fully realized. In March, 1494, Charles and his young queen, Anne de Bretagne, entered Lyons in the midst of general rejoicing and sumptuous festivities. The usually business-like Lyonese forgot their counters to such an extent, and entertained their guests so well, that the expedition against Naples was postponed until the following August. Then the army went on its way, and began the invasion that had such a beneficial influence on the Renaissance in France. Charles returned by way of Lyons in November, 1495, and the manifestations in his honor were even more brilliant than those of the preceding year. After a sojourn of several weeks, the king took his departure, and never visited Lyons again.

Louis XII and Francis I continued the Italian policy of Charles VIII; Louis added the Duchy of Milan to the French crown;

[1] Excellent studies on the Lyons of the Renaissance may be found in the following works: R. C. Christie, *Étienne Dolet*, chap. ix; F. Buisson, *Sébastien Castellion*, vol. I, chap. ii; A. Baur, *Maurice Scève*, chap. i.

Francis regained it at Marignan after it had been lost. Both sovereigns made Lyons the basis of their operations, and a visit from the monarch soon became an ordinary event. Balls, banquets, tournaments, and celebrations on the Saône and the Rhône gave the somewhat gloomy commercial city an air of gayety hitherto unknown.

The constant going and coming of kings, nobles, and soldiers on their way to and from Italy made Lyons one of the most important cities of Europe. Its four great fairs became the rendezvous of the trading world. Merchants from the Orient, Spain, Italy, Greece, Germany, Denmark, and England brought their wares and sold them at excellent prices. Towards the middle of the sixteenth century, the imports and exports through the medium of these fairs alone reached the grand total of one hundred million *livres*,[1] an enormous sum in view of the fact that money values were then much greater than at present.

As Lyons became more powerful commercially, and as communication between Italy and southern France increased, many Italian families, either political exiles or merely speculators in quest of gain, crossed the Alps and settled in the bustling city. From Florence, Milan, Lucca, Genoa, and other cities came the Strozzi, the Altoviti, the Tondi, the Albizzi, the Tapponi, the Pazzi, and the Frangipani, who brought with them the spirit of the Italian Renaissance, luxurious habits, and a feeling for art which had been lacking in France.[2]

In 1536 the consulate of Lyons accepted the proposition of two Piedmontese merchants, Turquet and Naris, for the establish-

[1] A. Steyert, *Nouvelle histoire de Lyon*, Lyons, 1899, vol. iii, p. 103.

[2] Cf. Tilley, *The Literature of the French Renaissance*, vol. i, p. 23: "It [Lyons] was half Italian in character. Already in the fifteenth century Italian merchants had begun to settle there; in 1528 Andrea Navagero wrote that more than half the inhabitants were foreigners, and that nearly all of these were Italians. In the first thirty years of the sixteenth century the governorship of the city was held by members of the Milanese family of Trivulzi, all of whom warmly sympathised with every form of intellectual progress." — The proximity of Lyons to Italy and the large number of Italians in the city explain the strong influence of Italian writers on the Lyonese school of poets.

ment of manufactories especially devoted to fine silks.[1] So rapidly did this industry develop that when, in 1548, Henry II entered the city, 459 weavers and 440 dyers took part in the festivities in his honor, and in 1553 twelve thousand inhabitants of Lyons gained a livelihood from the products of their looms.[2]

To the Germans was due the introduction of printing, which made Lyons the capital of the French Renaissance and one of the foremost intellectual centers of the world. As early as the end of the fifteenth century four score of master printers were working in Lyons, supplying the markets of Europe with books on all subjects and in many languages. The addition of illustrations to the volumes published drew from other countries men whose names rank high in the annals of art — Georges Reverdy from Piedmont, Maître Thomas from Italy, Pierre Eskreich from Germany, and especially the celebrated Bernard Salomon, or, as he was called, "le petit Bernard."[3] Lyons, with its eminent printers and engravers, soon outstripped even Paris, although Paris had the honor of producing the first books printed in France.

The list of printers and publishers who plied their trade in Lyons in the sixteenth century is a long one: Jean de Tournes, Sébastien Gryphe, Macé Bonhomme, Étienne Dolet, Thibaud Payen, Jean Ausoult, Guillaume Roville or Rouillé, Benoît Rigaud, François Juste, Philibert Rollet, Claude Nourry, and Jean Temporal may be mentioned among the most celebrated.[4]

[1] The manufacture of silk was not introduced into Lyons by Turquet and Naris. Cf. Steyert, *Nouvelle histoire de Lyon*, vol. iii, p. 91: "Il ne s'agissait pas des tissus de soie légère, rubans, etc., qui comptaient, en 1533, 400 métiers à Lyon, mais des étoffes de luxe, dont l'Italie avait conservé le monopole."

[2] Steyert, vol. iii, p. 92.

[3] Salomon may have been born at Lyons. — The sculptor and engraver Pierre Woeirot, born at Bouzey, near Reims, also spent many years at Lyons. Fontaine inscribed an epigram to Woeirot: *A Pierre Voeriot, lorsqu'il pourtrayoit l'auteur* (*Odes, énigmes, et épigrammes*, p. 103).

[4] One has only to consult Baudrier's monumental *Bibliographie lyonnaise* to get an idea of the great number of printers, publishers, and booksellers in Lyons at this time.

From their offices were issued some of the most important works of the period — for example, Rabelais's *Pantagruel* and *Gargantua*, Marot's *Enfer* and *Œuvres*, Marguerite of Navarre's *Marguerites de la Marguerite des princesses*, Maurice Scève's *Délie*, and Sanctes Pagnini's Hebrew lexicon. Not only did the printers of Lyons strive to supply their readers with books by the best ancient and modern authors, but they sought to make these books as free from errors as possible by engaging the most capable proof-readers that could be secured; Rabelais, Dolet, Jean Lascaris, and Hubert Sussanneau were employed in the office of Sébastien Gryphe alone. The printers themselves were often brilliant scholars; Gryphe and Jean de Tournes are shining examples of printers at a time when printing was regarded not merely as a trade, but as a liberal and a learned art.

It was natural that a city humming with the sound of printing presses in the hands of an enlightened class of printers should produce a multitude of men of letters. Unhampered by the carping, unjust interference of the theologians of the Sorbonne, and by the meddling of the inquisitors of Toulouse, the human mind enjoyed complete freedom in Lyons. In the shadows of Fourvière were produced noteworthy writings in all branches of science and literature not only by the Lyonese, but by distinguished men drawn from the four corners of France. Art and letters were liberally patronized by the leading citizens, such as Jean du Peyrat, the possessor of a magnificent library; the Gadagnes, celebrated for their riches; Claude Laurencin, a rich draper; Claude Bellièvre, a zealous student of history and archæology; Symphorien Champier, a physician and an author, the founder of the School of Medicine of Lyons; Pierre Sala, a numismatist; Jean de Guise, Cardinal of Lorraine; and the Groliers.

Of the literary men who flourished in Lyons at this period the most famous was the learned poet and antiquarian, Maurice Scève, whose *Délie, objet de plus haute vertu* is classed among the most important pre-Pléiade productions. Grouped around

Scève were men who, more or less forgotten to-day, were then regarded as the ornaments of all France: Barthélemy Aneau, the principal of the Collège de la Trinité, and the author of the *Quintil Horatian;* Étienne Dolet, a printer and an author, " the martyr of the Renaissance "; Charles de Sainte-Marthe, a theologian, a poet, and a reformer; Antoine du Moulin, a *valet de chambre* of Marguerite of Navarre, a poet, and the editor of many works; Noël Alibert, also a *valet de chambre* of Marguerite, and a poet in his idle hours; Benoît Court, the commentator of the *Arresta Amorum* of Martial d'Auvergne; Louis Meigret, a spelling reformer; Guillaume Duchoul, an antiquarian; Jean des Gouttes, the translator of Lucian; and Sanctes Pagnini, the great Hebrew scholar.

In addition to these natives or adopted citizens of Lyons, some of the chief men of letters of France sojourned in the city for periods of varying lengths — for instance, Rabelais, who, besides serving as corrector for Sébastien Gryphe, held a position as doctor in the Hôtel-Dieu; Clément Marot, who was received so cordially by the Lyonese that out of gratitude he penned verses which later adorned the arms of the city,

> Adieu Lyon, qui ne mord poinct,
> Sinon quand l'ennemi te poinct;

Bonaventure des Périers, whose *Cymbalum Mundi* aroused the ire of the Sorbonne; Sébastien Castellion, who in early manhood made many friends in Lyons by his devotion to deep study; Guillaume des Autelz, the author of the *Repos de plus grand travail;* and Jacques Peletier du Mans, a poet, a mathematician, a grammarian, a philosopher, a physician, and a critic.[1]

The progress of humanistic studies in Lyons between 1530 and 1540 attracted a number of men who divided their time between their labors at the Collège de la Trinité [2] and the composition of

[1] To these names Christie adds the following: Erasmus, Robert Estienne, Reginald Pole, Jacques Sadolet, Jean Calvin, Théodore de Bèze, Antoine de Gouvéa, Janus Secundus, Émile Ferret, and Guillaume Budé (R. C. Christie, *Étienne Dolet*, p. 168).

[2] Concerning the Collège de la Trinité, see pp. 216, ff., below.

Latin verses: Gilbert Ducher, a native of Aigueperse, the village in which Michel de l'Hospital was born; Nicolas Bourbon, the preceptor of Jeanne d'Albret; Jean Voulté, of Reims or Vandy; Florent Wilson, a Scotchman, to whom Barthélemy Aneau dedicated his French translation of Alciati's *Emblemata;* and Salmon Macrin, the inconsolable mourner of his dead Gélonis.[1]

Besides the talented men who brought fame to Lyons, the city also boasted a remarkable group of women, who formed what a modern critic has aptly called " the passionate school." [2] Foremost among these women was Louise Labé, " la belle Cordière," [3] a sort of latter-day Sappho, the author of a little masterpiece, *Le Débat de Folie et d'Amour*, the prose of which excited the admiration of Voltaire and Sainte-Beuve; the author also of twenty-four sonnets, which are filled with the outpourings of a passionate soul. Quite as famous as Louise Labé was Pernette du Guillet, whom Guillaume Paradin characterized as " toute spirituelle, gentille, et très chaste, laquelle a vescu en grand renom de tout meslé sçavoir, et s'est illustrée par doctes et éminentes poésies, pleines d'excellence de toutes grâces." Clustered around Louise Labé and Pernette du Guillet was a bevy of women whose names have a place in the literary history of France either on account of their verses or their relations with eminent writers: Clémence de Bourges, to whom Louise Labé dedicated her volume of poems, and whom Claude de Rubys called " cette perle vraiment orientale entre les demoiselles de Lyon "; Jacqueline de Stuard, to whom Bonaventure des Périers wrote poems of love; Jeanne Gaillarde, sung by Clément Marot; Jeanne Creste, whose verses and beauty were praised by Voulté and Ducher, and who on a wager kissed the grimy cheek of a chimney sweep; Claudine and Sibylle Scève, sisters or cousins of Maurice Scève; and others who are now all but forgotten: Claudine Péronne,

[1] Concerning humanists at Lyons, see A. Baur, *Maurice Scève*, chap. iv: *Scève et les humanistes lyonnais.*

[2] Concerning the women of Lyons, see *ibid.*, chap. vi: *Pernette du Guillet et les femmes de la Renaissance lyonnaise.*

[3] The wife of Ennemond Perrin, a ropemaker.

Julia Blanche, Jeanne Faye, Sibylle Cadière, Catherine de Vauxelles, Marguerite de Bourg, and Sibylle Bullioud.

In an excellent article on Charles Fontaine,[1] Joseph Désormaux gives the following account of the Lyons of the Renaissance, its savants and its printers, its poets and its fair women:

> Contemporain de la belle Cordière, il [Fontaine] connut cette nombreuse pléiade de poètes lyonnais qui au XVIe siècle semblent déjà dans leurs œuvres annoncer la réforme littéraire et devancent sur plusieurs points les innovations de Ronsard et de son école. Lyon était alors dans une période de grandeur et d'éclat qu'il n'a peut-être jamais revue: la vie littéraire n'est pas encore centralisée à Paris, les écrivains ont plus d'originalité, les poètes prennent plus librement leur essor, et de toutes les œuvres lyonnaises du XVIe siècle s'exhale comme une odeur de terroir qui attire et charme à la fois archéologues et poètes, érudits et littérateurs. Les uns et les autres sont bien souvent tentés de répéter avec le poète qu'à cette époque
>
> Il n'y eut lieu en France égal
> Au grand Lyon que l'on renomme.
>
> C'est que Lyon avait bien le droit d'être fier alors, fier de ses imprimeurs si renommés, de ses savants et de ses poètes, fier aussi de ses nobles et illustres dames, qui savaient retenir auprès d'elles, par le charme de leur beauté comme par l'agrément de leur conversation, l'élite de leurs concitoyens. A Lyon, dès cette époque, la femme règne dans les salons, car c'était un véritable salon, dans le sens où l'on entendit plus tard ce mot, que la maison de Louise Labé. Auprès d'elle le talent et la beauté sont déjà des titres de noblesse. Si elle aime ceux qui savent donner de fiers coups d'épée, elle aime aussi ceux qui connaissent " la gaye science," et plus d'un Lyonnais d'alors aurait pu revendiquer pour lui cette devise de Jean Citoys, un des libraires de Charles Fontaine: *Civis in utrumque paratus*. Dans les jardins si vantés de la rue Notre-Dame de Confort,[2] nous aurions pu voir un jour Clémence de Bourges, cette jeune et sympathique amie de la belle Cordière, lisant au milieu d'un cercle brillant de Lyonnais et de Lyonnaises les vers de Maurice Scève ou d'Olivier de Magny; et, près d'elle, la belle Loyse songeant à son gentil cavalier absent, se laissait bercer doucement par des rêves d'amour, et murmurait tout bas quelques vers de ses poétiques sonnets.[3]

Charles Fontaine was warmly received by this distinguished company when he took up his residence in Lyons after his return

[1] *Un poète parisien à Lyon au XVIe siècle, Charles Fontaine, et son ode en l'honneur de Lyon*, in the *Revue du siècle*, vol. iii (1889), p. 45.

[2] The garden of Louise Labé.

[3] As to the moral character of Louise Labé, cf. E. Picot, *Catalogue Rothschild*, vol. i, p. 451.

from Italy. The Latin poets, Bourbon, Voulté, and Ducher, had, as has been shown, addressed friendly verses to him even before his departure from Paris. Charles de Sainte-Marthe, in a eulogy of Clément Marot, Mellin de Saint-Gelais, Maurice Scève, Victor Brodeau, Jean Bouchet, Hugues Salel, and other poets, mentions Maître Charles as follows:

> Et là auprès Héroët le subtil,
> Avecques luy Fontaines le gentil,
> Deux en leurs sons une personne unie,
> Chantants auprès de l'haulte Polymnie.[1]

Étienne Dolet likewise had a word of praise for Fontaine,[2] and Guillaume des Autelz honored him with many poems. The most interesting reference to Fontaine by a member or a friend of the Lyonese school occurs, however, in a poem the author of which has not yet been fully determined.[3] This poem, *Des louenges de Dame Louize Labé, Lionnoize*, which was published in the *Euvres de Louize Labé* (1555), contains the following reference to the "tenth Muse's" garden in the rue Notre-Dame de Confort:

> Un peu plus haut que la plaine,
> Où le Rône impétueus
> Embrasse la Sône humeine
> De ses grans bras tortueus,
> De la mignonne pucelle
> Le plaisant jardin estoit,
> D'une grâce et façon telle
> Que tout autre il surmontoit.

Into this delightful garden poets will come and sing of the charms of the ardent Louise:

[1] *La Poésie françoyse de Charles de Sainte-Marthe*, Lyons, 1540, p. 203. At the end of this volume, Sainte-Marthe excuses himself for not being "tant parfaict que ceulx qui y sont consommés, comme Marot, S. Gelays, Sève, La Maison Neufve, Chappuy, Fontaines et aultres Poètes divins et très érudits."

[2] In his *Avant Naissance de Claude Dolet* (1539), Dolet lauds Maurice Scève, the Seigneur de Saint-Ambroise (Jacques Colin), Antoine Héroët, Jean and Victor Brodeau, Mellin de Saint-Gelais, Hugues Salel, Clément Marot, and "Charles Fontaine, jeune homme de grande espérance."

[3] Blanchemain ascribes the poem to Guillaume Aubert, of Poitiers (*Poëtes et amoureuses du XVIe siècle*, Paris, 1877, p. 201).

Et lors meints nobles poètes,
Pleins de célestes esprits,
Diront tes grâces parfaites
En leurs très doctes escriz:
Marot, Moulin, la Fonteine,
Avec la Muse hauteine
De ce Scève audacieus,
Dont la tonnante parole,
Qui dens les astres carole,
Semble un contrefoudre ès cieus.

It is likely that Fontaine paid homage to Louise Labé, as the poet said. M. Alfred Cartier conjectures that he may have been the author of some of the eulogistic verses published anonymously in the *Euvres de Louize Labé*.[1]

If for some reason Maître Charles failed to sound the praises of "la belle Cordière," he more than made amends by the verses that he addressed to other citizens of Lyons. The high and the low, the obscure and the famous, poets, scholars, physicians, lawyers, municipal officers, prelates, jewelers, postmen, printers, tailors, all received their *estreines*, their dizains, or their epigrams. To show the nature of some of these poems I shall quote three inscribed by Fontaine to his intimate friends Maurice Scève and Barthélemy Aneau.

A Monsieur Maurice Scève.

Tes vers sont beaux et bien luysants,
Graves, et pleins de majesté:
Mais pour leur haulteur moins plaisants:
Car certes la difficulté
Le grand plaisir en a osté.
Brief, ilz ne quièrent un lecteur,
Mais la commune autorité
Dit qu'ilz requièrent un docteur.[2]

[1] *Les Poètes de Louise Labé*, in the *Revue d'Hist. litt. de la France*, 1894, p. 433. Besides Marot, Du Moulin, Fontaine, and Scève, the following poets are numbered among "the poets of Louise Labé": Claude de Taillemont, Antoine Fumée, Tyard, Magny, Baïf, and Peletier.

[2] *La Fontaine d'amour*. Modern criticism has added nothing to Fontaine's judgment of Scève.

A Bartolemi Aneau.

Ta science pleine et entière,
Que l'on peult bien assez congnoistre,
Te fera encor mieux paroistre
Mettant tes œuvres en lumière.[1]

A ses deux amys Monsieur Maurice Scève et Maistre Bartolomy Aneau.

Si vostre esprit estoit en moy,
Je ne faindrois de vous escrire:
Car j'entends bien, et si le voy,
Qu'en luy pouvez trop mieux eslire
Ce que les sçavants voudroient lire.
Mais je vous escry seulement
Pour donner vostre jugement
Sur mes passetemps de jeunesse.
Va doncq, livret, douteusement
Recevoir d'eulx sentence expresse.[2]

Besides the numerous pieces addressed to his fellow citizens, Fontaine wrote in honor of the city of Lyons several poems which are of considerable worth as historical documents.

The most important of these poems is the *Ode de l'antiquité et excellence de la ville de Lyon.*[3] It is composed of eighty octosyllabic quatrains, and though of no literary merit, is especially interesting as a record of Lyons during one of its most flourishing periods. It may be divided into two parts: the first score of quatrains are devoted to a recapitulation of the early history of Lyons, the remainder to a description of Lyons as Fontaine saw it. The latter portion is the more valuable, since Fontaine was better qualified to describe the things before his eyes than to clear

[1] *Les Ruisseaux*, p. 205. Concerning Aneau, a very learned man, see pp. 217, ff., below.

[2] The book in question was the *Fontaine d'amour.* — For a list of the people of Lyons to whom Fontaine addressed poems, see Bibliography, A, nos. 5, 6, 12, 15, and 16.

[3] Published by Jean Citoys, Lyons, 1557. Republished in 1889 by the *Société des bibliophiles lyonnais.* See the article by Désormaux, cited on p. 62, above; see also *Magasin encyclopédique*, vol. vi (1812), pp. 351–366, *Lettre à M. B., sur un poète du seizième siècle qui a habité Lyon et dont plusieurs ouvrages ont rapport à cette ville.*

up hazy points relating to the founding of Lugdunum, its rulers, and its vicissitudes.

In his account of the history of Lyons, Fontaine mentions the legendary founding of Lugdunum by "Lugdus, de Gaule roy trezième,"[1] the building of a new city by Lucius Munatius Plancus,[2] the burning of the entire city in a single night (A.D. 65), and its subsequent rebuilding.[3] Concerning the antiquity of Lyons, he says:

> Lyon fut fait devant Paris,
> Et Paris fut fait devant Romme:
> Quant au temps donq il ha le pris
> Sus ces grans villes qu'on renomme.

After brief references to Hannibal's visit to Lyons, to the coming of the Druids, to the sacking of the city by Septimius Severus (A.D. 197), and to details of lesser interest, Fontaine passes to modern times:

> Lyon donq, de Lugdus nommé,
> Fut en estat scientifique
> Anciennement renommé,
> Maintenant il l'est en trafique.

Now follows a celebration of many of the famous places, customs, and institutions of Lyons, including the public address delivered by some dignitary at the fête of Saint Thomas; an allegorical account of the love of the Saône and the Rhône; the surrounding mountains, rich in fruits, lime, metals, and stone; the

[1] Later in the *Ode*, Fontaine mentions another popular belief regarding the founding of Lyons — namely, that it was founded by Athenian philosophers. He reminds the reader that

> Ainay, quasi comme Athénay,
> D'Athéniens prend origine.

(Saint-Martin d'Ainay is a church of Lyons). He adds, however, that this etymologizing is not original with him, but has been handed down by his predecessors.

[2] Plancus, one of Caesar's lieutenants, entered Gaul in 43 B.C. He brought a Roman colony into the territory of the Segusiavi, and on the plateau of Fourvière marked out the limits of a new city. On account of its situation at the junction of the Saône and the Rhône, this city, Lugdunum, soon became an important commercial center.

[3] Due partly to the generosity of Nero.

consulate; Fourvière, "la sainte montagne"; Roman inscriptions "en erain et marbre"; the churches, and the Cathedral of Saint-Jean. Fontaine takes especial pains to depict the commercial and industrial aspect of the city. The Rhône and the Saône, which made the prosperity of Lyons possible, are mentioned:

> Ces deus rivières ont bon port,
> La marchandise nécessaire
> Y arrivant par grant aport,
> Leur charge le dos ordinaire.

The two fairs established in 1419, and increased to four in 1462, attract traders from distant lands:

> Les foires franches quatre fois,
> Quatre fois l'an y sont hantées
> D'Alemans, Toscans, Portugois,
> Et des plus loingtains fréquentées.

The greatest industry of Lyons, the manufacture of silks, is treated somewhat briefly:

> Lyon fait ouvrages divers,
> Ouvrages premier italiques
> Prenans origine des vers,
> Maintenant ouvrages galliques.

Printing, in which Fontaine engaged, is honored with four quatrains:

> En mille maisons au dedans,
> Un grand million de dents noires,
> Un million de noires dents
> Travaille en foires et hors foires,

> Sur estampe blanche mordans
> D'une merveilleuse morsure,
> Qui sans entrer avant dedans
> Dure sans fin et sans mesure:

> Et se fait connoître par tout
> Où le soleil se lève et couche,
> Avec honneur sans fin ne bout,
> Tant bien sa morsure elle touche.

> Là les grans villes on y voit
> Au vif pour un grand temps empraintes:
> Là y revit (pour mort qu'il soit)
> Le poète et les Muses saintes.

The commercial activity of Lyons is further emphasized by a mention of the crowd of ships ready to sail in all directions, of the people hurrying in throngs across the bridge, of the frenzied clamor of the money-changers. Maître Charles places Lyons on a level with the chief mercantile centers of Europe, such as Antwerp and Venice, and thinks that its fame reaches from the Ganges to the Thames.

An interesting point in the *Ode* is Fontaine's judgment of the Lyonese, a people who from remote times had so devoted themselves to industry and commerce that it was strange that their city should have become the rival of Paris in intellectual matters.[1] Fontaine speaks of the energy of his fellow citizens in business, and adds that they are not wholly free from avarice:

> Au reste c'est bien une gent
> Laborieuse et fort active:
> Et qui ne jette pas l'argent,
> Ains experte à la lucrative.
>
> Le peuple n'y est guères sot:
> S'il tient un peu de l'avarice,
> Je m'en rapporte, et n'en dy mot,
> Ains leur voudrois faire service.

The *Ode* would have been incomplete without a compliment to the women of Lyons who, by their wit, grace, and beauty, did so much to bring renown to the city:

> Les dames y vont bravement,
> Et bien en ordre et bien coifées,
> Si qu'on les prendroit proprement
> Pour de belles nymphes ou fées.

[1] "Lyon, dans notre histoire littéraire, a eu des destinées particulières: l'Allemagne, l'Italie, la France y mêlent leurs génies; l'activité pratique, l'industrie, le commerce, les intérêts et les richesses qu'ils créent n'y étouffent pas les ardeurs mystiques, les exaltations âpres ou tendres, les vibrations profondes ou sonores de la sensibilité tumultueuse . . ." (Gustave Lanson, *Hist. de la litt. française*, p. 271). M. Vianey (*Le Pétrarquisme en France au XVIe siècle*, p. 58) speaks of Lyons as "une ville de province qui a toujours passé pour être en France un des foyers de la préciosité."

After a quatrain on " les passetems et les déduits " in the city and on the river — the chief of which is mummery, — Fontaine closes his poem with the wish that Lyons may always continue its " train honorifique."

Although the *Ode de l'antiquité et excellence de la ville de Lyon* is the longest and the best known of the poems that Fontaine composed in honor of Lyons, and the one that has received most attention from modern critics, there are to be found in his works numerous *Dieu gard*, epigrams, and other minor pieces which contain valuable information relating to Lyons.[1] And besides these short pieces he wrote a poem of broader interest, *Salutation au roy Charles IX, sus son entrée en sa noble et antique ville de Lyon* (1564) which, on account of its chronological significance, will be treated in a later chapter.

[1] For example: *Resjouyssance au commun peuple pour ceste année mil cinq cents xlv* (*La Fontaine d'amour*), cited on p. 171, below; *Des Forteresses de Lyon* (*Ode de l'antiquité . . . de Lyon*); the *Dieu gard* and the *Adieu* from the *Ruisseaux* cited on p. 48, above, and p. 130, below.

CHAPTER V

THE "QUERELLE DES AMIES."—THE PLATONISM OF CHARLES FONTAINE

I. *La Victoire et triumphe d'Argent*, by Almaque Papillon. — Fontaine's *Response* to Papillon's poem. — II. The Platonism of the French Renaissance. — *L'Amie de Court*, by Bertrand de La Borderie. — *La Contr'amye de Court* and the *Épître, philosophant sur la bonne amour*, by Charles Fontaine. — *La Parfaicte Amye*, by Antoine Héroët. — *Expérience de M. Paul Angier*. — *Le Nouvel Amour*, by Almaque Papillon. — *Le Tuteur d'Amour*, by Gilles d'Aurigny.

I

In 1537 there appeared in the bookstall of François Juste, of Lyons, a poem by Almaque Papillon entitled *La Victoire et triumphe d'Argent contre Cupido, dieu d'amours, n'aguières vaincu dedans Paris*,[1] to which Charles Fontaine promptly composed a reply, *Response faicte à l'encontre d'un petit livre intitulé le Triumphe et la victoire d'Argent contre Cupido n'aguières vaincu dedans Paris*. Papillon's poem belongs to that vast category of writings which, during the latter part of the Middle Ages and the first half of the sixteenth century in France, were devoted to the vilification of women.[2] Its author takes his place beside the authors of the *fabliaux*, Jean de Meung, Mathéolus, Jean Nevizan, André Tiraqueau, and the innumerable anonymous writers

[1] Although the *Victoire et triumphe d'Argent* was published anonymously, it has been fairly well established that it was written by Almaque Papillon, *valet de chambre* of Francis I, and a close friend of Clément Marot. Concerning Papillon, see Moréri, *Dictionnaire;* Goujet, *Bibl. franç.*, vol. xi, p. 154; and especially the Guiffrey edition of Clément Marot's works, vol. iii, p. 567, note 4.

[2] For a consideration of this literature, see A. Lefranc, *Le Tiers livre du "Pantagruel" et la querelle des femmes*, in the *Revue des études rabelaisiennes*, 1904, pp. 1 and 78; same article in Lefranc, *Grands écrivains français de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1914, pp. 251 ff. M. Lefranc does not mention Papillon's *Victoire et triumphe d'Argent*.

who held that woman is only a cunning, false, and heartless creature, or, as Vigny expresses it,

> Car la femme est un être impur de corps et d'âme.[1]

Papillon's poem, however, has a saving grace; it is free from the filth and obscenity which mar the greater part of the antifeminist literature of the time. Papillon sought to satirize only one displeasing trait in the women of Paris — their inordinate cupidity, and their consequent disloyalty to the god of love.[2]

The *Victoire et triumphe d'Argent* begins as follows:

> Au moys de may Amour print ses sagettes,
> Pour venir veoir ses subjectz et subjectes
> Dedans Paris et toute la province,
> Ainsi que doibt et veult faire un bon prince.
> Luy arrivé en sa cholère monte,
> Car plus de luy dames ne tenoient compte:
> Dont descocha son arc, dressant ses aesles,
> Contre plusieurs dames et damoyselles.

Finding his arrows and flaming torches powerless against the hard hearts of the Parisian women, Cupid seeks Venus,

> Qui luy respond que sus Parisiennes
> Avoyt perdu ses vertus anciennes:
> Car pour leur dieu d'amours et pour régent
> Avoient reçu un que l'on nomme Argent,
> Qui a muny leurs cueurs de fortes armes,
> Pour abolir tous amoureux alarmes.

Cupid summons all his courage, and sallies forth to attack his puissant adversary, but soon learns that he is too feeble to cope with him. Out of respect for Venus, Argent merely disarms him, and then delivers to him the following harangue:

" How dare you make so bold as to challenge me! Do you not see that my power is unlimited ?

[1] *La Colère de Samson.*

[2] Papillon's *Nouvel Amour* is a poem of a wholly different nature. Cf. p. 118, note 3, below.

Sceuz tu jamais joindre deux cueurs ensemble
Que je ne fusse en cest accord compris,
Et pour moyen le plus apparent pris ? . . .
Mes chènes d'or, rubbiz, et diamans
Ont plus valu (pour jouir) aux amantz
Que tes fins tours, tes flèches, et tes arcs . . .
Je n'entends pas du temps que pour fleurettes
Humbles pasteurs jouissoient d'amourettes.

"You were once cunning enough to force Jupiter and other deities to descend from the heavens in pursuit of mortal loves; your sway over the creatures of the earth has been hitherto unbounded. But now lovesick maidens no longer dream night and day of their lovers. I, Argent, the almighty, the invincible, have so turned their giddy heads that they are willing to accept a rich dolt in preference to a needy sage.

"The women of Paris have shown their wisdom by choosing to obey my easy laws. As their lord and master, the god at whose shrine they worship, I issue to them these orders: Let them be ever joyous and gay, and conspicuous at all banquets and merry assemblies; let them shun the tortures of love, and sleep throughout the night without a thought of their sighing lovers; let them not forget to employ any artificial means that will attract rich wooers:

A leur coucher prendront un laict d'amendes,
Qui les tiendra fresches et bien disposes
Dedans leur lict entre courtines closes . . .
Conséquemment que soient bien parfumées,
Car pour cela en seront estimées . . .
Pour apparoir gentes et sadinettes
Leurs corps seront estrainctz de cordelettes.
Dessus leurs yeulx yront cheveux au vent,
Car cella dit: C'est icy qu'on les vend.
Les advertis d'ordonner leurs mamelles
Sus l'estomach: s'en fault fier en elles
Qu'elles sçauront descouvrir un petit
Pour provocquer des hommes l'appétit . . .
Quand porteront le dueil de leurs marys
Feront semblant d'avoir les cueurs marrys,
Pour en siffler d'aultres à leurs pippées . . .
Et sy entends que les adolescentes

Observent bien de leurs mères les sentes,
Affin qu'après en aage plus parfaicte
L'on dye, c'est la mère toute faicte.

"I forbid my priestesses to take interest in tournaments and 'bellic virtues.' I command them to invert the Biblical teaching and to believe that it is more blessed to receive than to give. However, in order to ensnare their victims, they may give them once a week

Boucquetz de fleurs garniz de marjolaine,
Ou aultre cas de petite valeur,
Car les grands dons ne portent que malheur.
Mays pour leur bien je veulx que soient vénales,
En se vendant comme les bleds aux Halles,
Et qu'elles soient au baiser difficiles,
Mays au desduict humaines et faciles,
Ne refusant ès festes et festins
A leurs oyseaux manier leurs tetins."

Upon concluding these behests to his mercenary subjects, Argent turns upon the crestfallen Cupid:

" Begone, weakling, seek not to wound my cohorts with your powerless darts;

Retire toy ès lieux sans longues poses
Où tu as fait tant de métamorphoses.
Va t'en chercher Thisbée et Déiphile,
Philis, Phaedra, et de Minos la fille,
Et ta Dido, à qui feis ce bon tour
Quand veit sus mer Énée de sa tour:
Va visiter le cueur Pénélopé,
Où si long temps tu fuz envelopé,
Et Portia ta loyalle Romaine,
Que mourir feis de mort tant inhumaine."

Finally occur the triumph of Argent and the banishment of Cupid:

Ce conquéreur lors allant par les rues
De riches draps et dorures tendues,
Pompeusement en char victorieux
Dedans Paris triumpha en maintz lieux
Du dieu d'amours triste et humilié,

Trop rudement guarroté et lyé:
Et, cela faict, comme personne ville,
Le pauvre enfant fut banny de la ville.[1]

Fontaine's response to Papillon's poem was published in 1537, the year in which his poems in defense of Marot appeared in *Les Disciples et amys de Marot contre Sagon, La Hueterie, et leurs adhérentz.* The plan followed by Maître Charles is quite as ingenious as that of Papillon's satire. The reader is taken into a regular court of justice, with judge, bailiffs, lawyers, and the usual crowd of loungers. Among other cases, action is being brought against a *quidam* who has been so rash as to write a scurrilous attack upon the god of love:

Lundi dernier je me mis sur les rancz
Pour aller veoir juger des différentz
Au grand palais où Cupido préside,
Et où Vénus avec leur train réside.
Là force arrest obtindrent amoureux,
Les aulcuns doulx, les aultres vigoreux,
Car on plaida ce jour à court ouverte
Au beau parquet de la grand' salle verte.
Par Vray Rapport entre aultres accusé
Fut un quidam de trop estre abusé
En escripvant au grand despris du juge
Qui sans faveur, les deux yeux bendez, juge.

Vray Rapport's indictment causes a hubbub among the loungers, who interrupt proceedings with murmurs and outcries against the delinquent. When order is restored, Franc Vouloir, Cupid's defender, takes the floor. Before beginning a refutation of Papillon's falsehoods, he gives the judge an idea of the kind of man they are dealing with:

Chascun sçait bien que c'est un malévole,
Qui ses escriptz remplist tous de frivole,
Un présumeur audacieux quoquart,
Qui a ès dens tousjours quelque brocart,
Un grand bourdeur, inventeur de mensonge.

[1] In order to counteract somewhat the sting of his satire, Papillon appended to it two short poems, *A l'honneur d'une dame de Paris honneste et loyalle* and *Excuse aux honnestes et loyalles dames et damoyselles de Paris.*

The irate speaker then turns his attention to Papillon's poem, and tries to disprove all its slanders. In the first place, Argent has not the power over the women of Paris that Papillon ascribes to him. It is true that the *Parisiennes* accept money and jewels from their admirers, but nothing could be more preposterous than the idea that presents are everything in love:

> N'ouvre l'on point que par argent la porte ?
> Ne fait on rien si non que par rubiz ?
> N'a l'on accès qu'en baillant des habitz ?
> Si a, si a. Un homme en simple saye,
> Qui son povoir et sa vertu essaye
> Au faict d'amours, aussi tost jouira
> Comme celuy qui riche se dira.

Franc Vouloir continues thus for some time, and then beseeches the court to inflict a penalty that will vindicate the honor of the judge and of the women whose fair names have been besmirched by an idle prater.

When Franc Vouloir finishes his address, the defendant's counsel, Faulx Entendre, begins his plea. After a few remarks about the aspersions cast on his client by Franc Vouloir, Faulx Entendre sets up the defense that Papillon is a victim of circumstances. His pamphlet has been misinterpreted; hostile critics have glanced through it and pounced upon the "scrupulous passages," without taking into account the fact that the author wrote it solely for the good of the public.

Faulx Entendre's harangue ended, the verdict must be given. Before pronouncing on the case, Cupid commands that Papillon's poem be brought into court. After reading it, he brings the trial to a close by imposing a severe sentence not only upon the accused, but also upon the poem and the printer who printed it:

> Comme ainsi soit qu'ait commis cest esté
> Un crime et cas de lèse majesté
> Ce composeur encontre moy son prince,
> Banny sera de toute ma province:
> Son livre aussi (le tout bien calculé)
> Publiquement sera ars et bruslé:

Pareillement pour la faulte et traficque
De l'imprimeur tous ses biens on confisque.
Oultre il est dict que ce faulx blasonneur
Réparera aux dames leur honneur,
Desquelles a mal parlé en son livre.
Que si encor telz traictez il leur livre,
Ou par brocards les picque, poinct, ou mort,
En informant sera jugé à mort.

The literary ancestry of Papillon's *Victoire et triumphe d'Argent* and of Fontaine's *Response* is clear: both hark back to such poems as Jean Lemaire de Belges's *Temple de Vénus*, Jean Molinet's *Temple de Mars*, and Clément Marot's *Temple de Cupido*, which in turn were influenced by the great source of sources, the *Roman de la Rose*.[1] A comparison of Papillon's and Fontaine's poems with the *Temple de Cupido* reveals the same style, the same phraseology, the same mythological and allegorical machinery, and, in a broader way, the same general lack of virility.

However, if Fontaine's first two publications — the poems in defense of Marot against Sagon and the reply to Papillon's satire on the women of Paris — show clearly the effect of his close relations with Marot, his third publication, *La Contr'amye de Court*, which was strongly influenced by Plato, represents his first break with the teachings of his master and with the traditions of the past.

II

M. Abel Lefranc has shown in a most convincing manner that it was only when Platonism had gained a sufficient number of partisans in France that the Renaissance burst forth with all its power.

La rénovation universelle [says M. Lefranc] dont le mot même de Renaissance évoque naturellement l'idée, ne s'est révélée dans sa plénitude et n'a brillé dans toute sa splendeur qu'au moment où la propagation des théories platoniciennes fut suffisamment avancée, et où les concepts de l'amour et de la beauté, tels que les a formulés l'immortel auteur du *Banquet*, apparurent

[1] See the Guiffrey edition of the works of Clément Marot, vol. ii, p. 67, note 1.

dans l'horizon intellectuel des contemporains de François Ier. Le champ de l'inspiration littéraire se trouva du même coup élargi et purifié: un monde inconnu s'ouvrit aux yeux des écrivains éblouis. Ils virent qu'il était loisible à la raison humaine de s'élever, par sa seule vertu, à la contemplation des choses éternelles. Ainsi guidés et vivifiés par un idéal plus noble, ils s'engagèrent dans des voies nouvelles, qui leur permirent d'atteindre à la connaissance du beau et bientôt de l'exprimer.[1]

The dissemination of the doctrines of Plato in France was necessarily slow. General culture during the opening years of the reign of Francis I was not high; a fondness for the routine of preceding centuries was still deeply imbedded in the minds of those who took an interest in intellectual matters. The endeavors of the Parisian printers Petit, Bade,[2] and Gourmont, of the translators Chalcidius, Alcinoüs, and a few others, were crowned with success only when Marguerite of Navarre became imbued with Platonic ideas and sought to spread them, at first by means of conversations with friends, and later through the medium of

[1] *Le Platonisme et la littérature en France à l'époque de la Renaissance (1500–1550)*, in the *Revue d'Hist. litt. de la France*, January 15, 1896, p. 1; same article, with modifications, in Lefranc, *Grands écrivains français de la Renaissance*, pp. 63 ff.

[2] Although, in the early part of the century, there had appeared several Latin translations of single works by Plato, there is no doubt that the publication by Jean Petit and Josse Bade of Marsilio Ficino's Latin translation of Plato's works (1518, 1522, and 1533) did more to spread the new ideas than all the previous scattered efforts combined. It should be remembered, however, that in Ficino's writings and commentaries all is not pure Platonism. The scholarly Italian was also a warm admirer of the Alexandrian school of philosophers, and introduced into his remarks on Plato's works many of their teachings. This Neo-Platonic element had a strong influence on some of the writers of the French Renaissance, who contaminated Plato's doctrines by adding the quibblings and mysticism of the later Greek philosophers. Concerning the Platonism of the Renaissance, Mr. Arthur Tilley says (*The Mod. Lang. Rev.*, October, 1914, p. 544): "During the first half of the sixteenth century Platonism in France, as in Italy, chiefly meant that amalgam of Platonism, Neo-Platonism and Christianity which had been compounded by Marsilio Ficino and the Florentine Academy. Among its developments were spiritual love and mysticism. The doctrine of spiritual love was based on the *Symposium*, but it was largely impregnated with Neo-Platonism, and Ficino's Latin commentary on Plato's famous dialogue was the starting-point for numerous discussions on the subject. . . . The mystical current also had its main source in Neo-Platonism. Its

the writers under her patronage.[1] The efforts of Bonaventure des Périers and Étienne Dolet in the propaganda are well known: the former had the honor of making the first French translation of a dialogue by Plato;[2] the latter, by his translations and general interest in the works of the divine philosopher, caused himself to be regarded with suspicion, and finally reached the stake in the Place Maubert through the vindictiveness of relentless persecutors who pretended to see in his translation of the *Axiochus*[3] a phrase that jarred on orthodox ears.

Although these two writers played important parts in the propagation of the new doctrines, the post of honor is generally accorded another poet who enjoyed the protection of the Queen of Navarre, Antoine Héroët,[4] whom Étienne Dolet aptly called "heureux illustrateur du haut sens de Platon." In 1542 Héroët published a small volume entitled *La Parfaicte Amye*, which won for him a prominent place in French literature, and made him one of the most important precursors of the Pléiade.

Before treating Héroët's *Parfaicte Amye*, it is necessary to examine *L'Amie de Court*, by Bertrand de La Borderie, and *La Contr'amye de Court*, by Charles Fontaine, which were the beginning of the so-called "querelle des amies," a debate which, in addition to La Borderie and Fontaine, brought into the lists Héroët, Paul Angier, Almaque Papillon, and Gilles d'Aurigny, the one side upholding honorable and, in some cases, genuine

earliest exponent in France was Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples; it was he who inspired Bishop Briçonnet, and it was Briçonnet who inspired Marguerite of Navarre, in whom both currents meet."

[1] Concerning the probable causes of Marguerite's turning to Plato, see Lefranc, *Revue d'Hist. litt. de la France*, 1896, p. 10, and Lefranc, *Les Dernières Poésies de M. de N.*, Paris, 1896, pp. viii–x.

[2] *Lysis*, 1541 (?)

[3] Then attributed to Plato. Dolet's translation was published in 1544.

[4] Concerning Héroët, see W. A. R. Kerr, *Antoine Héroët's Parfaite Amye* (*Publ. of the Mod. Lang. Ass'n of America*, 1905, pp. 567–583); F. Gohin, *Œuvres poétiques d'Héroët*, Paris, 1909; J. Arnoux, *Un précurseur de Ronsard, Antoine Héroët, néo-platonicien et poète* (*1492–1568*), Digne, 1913; A. Lefranc, *Grands écrivains français de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1914, pp. 85 ff.

Platonic love, the other a more worldly love branded by Plato as vulgar and inconstant.[1]

The " querelle des amies " opened in 1541 with the publication of the *Amie de Court*,[2] by Bertrand de La Borderie, one of the poets to whom Marot appealed when attacked by Sagon, and the

[1] Claude Collet, in a dizain accompanying d'Aurigny's *Tuteur d'amour* (1546), mentions all the pieces but one that appeared during the debate:

> Tous ceulx qui ont veu *la perfaicte amye* [Héroët]
> Peuvent juger estre un œuvre perfaict:
> *L'amye* aussi *de cour* non endormye [La Borderie]
> Mérite bien grand louenge en effect:
> *La contr'amye* est un œuvre bien faict [Fontaine],
> Et *le nouvel amour* semblablement [Papillon]:
> Brief tous ceulx là ont escript haultement
> De Cupido et de Vénus aussi:
> Mais si d'iceulx as eu contentement,
> Moins n'en auras en lisant cestuy cy.

Collet omits Paul Angier's *Expérience*, presumably because nothing good could be said of it. — With the exception of the *Parfaicte Amye*, none of the poems mentioned by Collet has been honored with anything like a complete analysis or criticism. In the following pages I shall endeavor to give a clear idea of all the pieces, cutting short, however, the consideration of the *Tuteur d'amour* and the *Nouvel amour* which, in reality, had no direct connection with the " querelle des amies."

[2] Paris, Gilles Corrozet. — M. Gohin was the first to establish the order of composition of the three principal poems of the " querelle des amies." M. Gohin says (*Œuvres poétiques d'Héroët*, pp. xix, xxvii): " D'après l'ordre occupé par divers opuscules d'amour dans le recueil collectif (*Opuscules d'amour*, Lyon, Jean de Tournes, 1547) qu'il avait sous les yeux, Goujet a supposé, et on a répété après lui, que la *Parfaicte Amye* avait provoqué une polémique, et que l'*Amie de Court* de La Borderie en était la réfutation. C'est le contraire qui est vrai: la *Parfaicte Amye* est une réponse à l'*Amie de Court*. . . . C'est Charles Fontaine . . . qui le premier riposta " [à l'*Amie de Court*]. The privilege of Gilles Corrozet's edition of the *Amie de Court* is dated March 9, 1541 (n. s. 1542); the preface of Étienne Dolet's first edition of the *Amie de Court* is dated May 15, 1542. Dolet's preface to the first edition of the *Parfaicte Amye* is dated June 1, 1542. The first edition of Fontaine's *Contr'amye de Court* (Paris, Adam Saulnier, 1541) must have appeared between March 9, 1542 (n. s.) and June 1, 1542. It should be added that Mr. Arthur Tilley (*The Mod. Lang. Rev.*, October, 1914, p. 546) accepts M. Gohin's chronology of the *Amie de Court*, the *Contr'amye de Court*, and the *Parfaicte Amye*. — M. Gohin (p. xx) has also shown that the " point de départ de ce débat fut la publication et la vogue du *Courtisan*, ouvrage de l'Italien Balthasar Castiglione." — Concerning La Borderie's reason for writing the *Amie de Court*, M. Gohin says (pp. xxiv ff.): " L'*Amie de Court* de La Borderie s'annonce comme une protestation contre toutes les complaintes qui célébraient la puissance divine de

author of a dull poem, *Discours du voyage à Constantinople envoyé du dit lieu à une damoyselle françoyse* (1542).[1]

The Amie de Court, as represented by La Borderie, is an arrant coquette. She cannot comprehend the inane talk she hears about a god of love who conquers and torments mortals, and compels them to do his bidding.

> Je croy le tout n'estre que poésie,
> Ou mieulx dire humaine frénaisie,
> Qui la nature enchante soubz couleur
> De déité de frivole valeur.
> Or, donc, ce mal qu'on treuve tant amer
> Le nomme dieu qui le vouldra nommer.
> J'apelleray telle divinité
> Plus tost folie ou infélicité
> Pour tous ceulx là qui s'en laissent saisir,
> Et pour moy seule aggréable plaisir,
> Qui sçay trèsbien comme il la fault conduire
> Et son tourment en liesse réduire.[2]

l'amour, tels certain *Trophée d'amour*, ou la *Définition d'Amour* de Saint-Gelais, ou *Douleur et Volupté* d'Héroët. La Borderie se récrie contre ces voix

> piteuses et dolentes
> Qui plaincte font des peines violentes
> Qu'ung Dieu d'aimer (comme ils dysent) leur cause.

Il semble viser tout d'abord d'autres œuvres que le *Courtisan;* en fait, c'est de ce livre qu'il a tiré la matière de son poème; les détails curieux que donne Castiglione sur les galanteries dont les dames sont l'objet à la cour et sur les complaisances qu'elles montrent, ont été repris par La Borderie, non plus pour les condamner, mais pour les justifier; toutefois, l'exagération des traits et l'effronterie des aveux semblent toujours faire tourner l'apologie en satire." — Baldassare Castiglione's *Cortegiano* was first published in Italy in 1528. In 1537 appeared the first French translation, by Jacques Colin. Concerning the popularity of the *Cortegiano* in France, see Gohin, pp. xxii ff.

[1] Concerning La Borderie, about whose life little is known, see La Croix du Maine, vol. i, p. 94; Goujet, *Bibl. franç.*, vol. xi, pp. 148 and 156; Viollet-le-Duc, *Bibl. poët.*, vol. i, p. 165; Brunet, *Manuel*, vol. iii, col. 717; the Guiffrey edition of Cl. Marot's works, vol. iii, p. 582, note 2; F. Gohin, *Œuvres poëtiques d'Héroët*, Paris, 1909, pp. xxiv ff.; V. L. Bourrilly, *B. de La Borderie et le "Discours du voyage de Constantinople" (1537–38)*, in the *Revue des études rabelaisiennes*, 1911, pp. 183 ff.

[2] All the poems of the "querelle des amies" are monologues. The choice of this form was probably due, as has been suggested, to the influence of Boccaccio's *Fiammetta*.

The frivolous maiden explains as follows how she succeeded in overcoming Cupid and in changing his torments into happiness:

"When very young I observed that honor and authority are highly praised here below, and I decided that woman can gain an honorable and authoritative position only through her grace and beauty. So I, whom Heaven had blessed with comeliness, began to arrange my hair and 'to conduct my green eyes' to the best advantage. I did not do this with the view of attracting men, for the idea of winning an 'amy' had not yet entered my mind. But when

Sur les quainze ans le corps plaisant à veoir
Fut consummé, et l'esprit de sçavoir,

"adorers began to flock around me;

Je retiens tout, et personne ne chasse,
Fondant ma gloire et louange estimée
Sans aymer nul, estre de tous aymée,
Qui est le point de mon enseignement.

"Do you think, ladies, that I succumbed to any of these suitors? Far from it. I merely maneuvered in such a way that the strongest became as clay in my hands. Was I ill and tortured and feverish? Nonsense!

car mon cueur de soy maistre
Cognoist l'amour sans le vouloir cognoistre.

"You are doubtless wondering, my good ladies, how my youthful heart contrived to resist Cupid's assaults:

Je l'ay logé en si forte maison,
Je l'ay muny de telle garnison,
Que l'ennemy ne luy peult faire offence:
En une tour d'invincible deffence,
Fermeté dicte, est mon cueur résidant,
Duquel Honneur est chef et président,
Accompagné de Crainte et d'Innocence
Pour résister contre Concupiscence,
Laquelle s'est avec Amour rengée:[1]

[1] Among Cupid's followers are also mentioned Espoir, Tourment, Soucy, Volupté, Joye, Plaisir, and Langue-Diserte. The influence of the *Roman de la Rose* is evident.

Et ont mon cueur et sa place assiégée,
En luy faisant infinité d'alarmes,
De feux légiers, trèsdangereuses armes,
De traictz poignans, de flesches, et de dardz,
Dont sont muniz Amour et ses souldars.

"On my side I had also Constance, Chasteté, Foy, Tempérance, Conseil, Honnesteté, Bon-Advis, Raison, Jugement, Prudence, Entendement, Mémoire, Soing, and Esprit. Secure in my tower, I laughed to scorn poor Cupid's emissaries with their fair words and pretty promises of happiness and good fortune.

"It may seem strange that I was not vanquished by any of my worshippers, and yet led them on with my smiles and blandishments. I was cautious enough to take in my net a wealthy admirer or two,

Pour avoir tout ce dont j'ay besoing d'eulx,
Accoustrements, anneaulx, chaines, dorures,
Nouveaulx habitz et nouvelles parures.

"Gossips will say, perchance, that a maiden cannot receive such valuable presents without granting in return favors which are scarcely compatible with virtue. Rubbish! I did my suitors only too much honor when I accepted their gifts to worry whether they were satisfied. This explanation, I know, will not protect me against slanderers. Let them say what they will. I am well aware that virtue is a treasure which, once lost, can never be regained. I walk about the streets without the guiding hand of some crone, it is true, but that does not prove that my conduct is not as it should be. It merely indicates that I do not intend to fall into the ranks of my weak-minded sisters who shrink from asserting their independence and allow themselves to be lorded over by man.

Je me complainctz d'un erreur de nature,
Puis qu'en faisant l'humaine créature
Elle voulut nostre povoir ravir,
Et à celluy des hommes l'asservir.

"In the distribution of power, nature should have been more discriminating. There are women and women — intelligent,

strong-minded women, and silly, cringing dunces. Let the latter bear the knocks and cuffs of their lords and masters, but pray do not think of subjecting the former to the rule of dull-witted boors who, by their jealousy, severity, and violence, make themselves unbearable.

> Je leur [aux hommes] demande où sont en évidence
> Vertu, sçavoir ? où font ilz résidence ?
> Esse dedans leurs rustiques maisons
> Où l'on n'apprent qu' à paistre les oysons ?
> Ou à nourrir en leur fascheux mesnaige
> Quelque animal autant comme eulx saulvaige ?

"I cannot dismiss from my mind the thought that I may be suspected of having yielded to some of my suitors. In order to dispel all doubts, I shall cite a specific incident:

> Je diray donc . . .
> Que quelque fois dedans mon lict couchée,
> Un survenant maulgré moy m'a touchée
> En la partie en moy la plus parfaicte,
> Au tetin ferme, ou la cuisse refaicte.

"O ye prudes! I see already your uplifted hands and hear your hypocritical clamor. Pray calm yourselves.[1] I suffered no indignities at the hands of my curious visitor. Moreover, had he sought to overstep the bounds of propriety, he could not have done so without my consent. And the result ?

> Suis doublement en son cueur estimée,
> Pour avoir veu en moy l'esprit et corps
> De beaulté chaste unir les deux accordz . . .
> Pourtant ne veulx par mes dictz voz beaultez
> (Dames) induire à telles privaultez.
> Toutes n'avez (peult estre) la constance
> Si bien que moy . . .
> Rien ne me sert tant que la cognoissance
> Que j'ay de moy, qui me donne puissance
> De refréner toute envie soubdaine,
> D'endurer soif au pied d'une fontaine.

[1] Concerning prudes, the Amie de Court says:

> Mais au dehors femmes si difficiles,
> Par le dedans je les cuide faciles.

"You are wondering, ladies, what sort of wooer I prefer. Ah, give me a reckless young blade as hot as fire and as daring as sin,

> Car soubdain naist, et soubdain meur en eulx
> Tout appétit, ainsi que feu de paille.

"But, after all, I ought not to express a preference for any of my worshippers, — all are so diverting. Some drive away my ennui with their grace and courtesy, others with their gentleness and pretty speeches, and even the simpletons bring cheer to my weary soul. But as for loving them,

> Si c'est amour que d'aymer tout cela,
> J'en ayme plus de mille çà et là.

"A lucrative marriage is my only aim. The husband of my choice need not be endowed with intellectual qualities; only let him have a well-filled purse, and I shall require nothing more. Should I be so unfortunate as to marry a dullard, I could soon make him clever; should he be cruel and haughty, my gentleness would soon overcome him. Animals can be trained, and so why not men? But supposing I should wed an absolutely untrainable husband;

> Hymen, Juno, vous, dieux de mariage,
> Destournez moy ce sinestre praesaige.

"However, my fears are groundless. My husband will be 'wise and honest,' and we shall settle down to a peaceful, happy life,

> Et de sentir l'amour commenceray:
> Non point l'amour qui blesse et qui tourmente,
> De qui chascun se plainct et se lamente:
> Mais bien l'amour qui est incomparable,
> D'ung mutuel plaisir inénarrable . . .
> O bien heureuse, O vraye amour future,
> Que je prévoy certaine en mon augure!"

With this inconsistency on the part of a maiden who has declared at great length that she is proof against love, and furthermore that she does not desire to come under its sway, the *Amie de Court* comes to an end.

It is only too evident, as M. Gohin has suggested, that La Borderie must not be taken too seriously in his defense of the Amie de Court. The young lady's brazenness and her eagerness to confess what she pretends to regard as peccadillos must force the reader to conclude that La Borderie intended his poem as a satire rather than an apology. If, however, he really meant to write a defense of the Amie de Court's ignoble conception of the relations of the sexes, he went a step too far; his heroine, in her effort to set herself up as an independent, self-asserting "new woman," harps so much upon her chastity that one is apt to think that the lady doth protest too much, and that, if she resisted the onslaught of the visitor who dallied with her in her couch, she may not have been so impregnable in some of her other encounters.

As regards the *Amie de Court* as a whole, I agree with M. Lefranc's revised opinion:[1] it is highly entertaining from beginning to end, and if one cannot admire the author's skill in versifying, one may at least commend him for presenting an excellent sketch of a cold, heartless, calculating, cynical coquette.

It was as an opponent of the ideas set forth by the Amie de Court that Charles Fontaine entered the "querelle des amies." His contribution to the debate, *La Contr'amye de Court*, was first published in 1541 by the Parisian printer Adam Saulnier, and, judging from the number of editions, it must have pleased the readers of the period to an uncommon degree.[2] This popularity is not surprising. The *Contr'amye de Court* is in many respects a remarkable poem, and has been neglected only too long by literary historians. The critics who have sought to discover the origins of Platonism in France have been too eager to emphasize

[1] *Grands écrivains français de la Renaissance*, pp. 95 ff. In an earlier judgment M. Lefranc says that La Borderie's poem is prolix and wearisome.

[2] Colletet speaks of the *Contr'amye de Court* as follows (*Vies des poètes françois*, fol. 197): ". . . poème après tout qui fut si favorablement reçu à la cour du roi François Ier, et depuis en celle du roi Henri II, qu'il ne se trouve guère de ce temps-là de vers réimprimés tant de fois ni en plus de sortes de marges, puisqu'il se trouve in-8°, in-12° et in-16°."

the importance of Héroët and the Queen of Navarre to do justice to some of their most efficient collaborators. Though it cannot be denied that Héroët and Marguerite deserve the greatest credit for circulating the new ideas, it is manifestly unfair to allow them completely to overshadow such a writer as Fontaine, who was not only one of their most able co-workers, but who, as I shall prove, in his *Contr'amye de Court* published a work tinged deeply with Platonism before the publication of any of the works of Héroët or of Marguerite, and before the publication of Maurice Scève's *Délie* (1544), of Des Périers's translation of the *Lysis* (1544), of Gilles Corrozet's *Conte du Rossignol* (1547), and of all the other writings that hold a high place in French literature because of their Platonic nature.[1]

If Fontaine was the first to introduce Platonic doctrines into a published literary work of importance, there is no reason why we should not be justified in assuming that he was, to say the least, probably among the first to circulate these Platonic doctrines in manuscript before their publication. In 1540, before the opening of the "querelle des amies," Charles de Sainte-Marthe coupled the names of "Héroët le subtil" and of "Fontaines le gentil,"

Deux en leurs sons une personne unie.[2]

Now, there was no reason why Sainte-Marthe should couple Héroët and Fontaine, except that they wrote poems of a similar nature, that is, since Héroët's chief poems are impregnated with Platonism, poems of a Platonic nature. If, then, in 1540 Sainte-Marthe knew Fontaine as an admirer of Plato and as a disseminator of Plato's doctrines, it may be safely conjectured that before 1540 Fontaine was interested in Plato and in Platonism. If such was the case, Fontaine, not only because of his early

[1] Charles de Sainte-Marthe, in his *Poésie françoise* (1540), made, as Miss Ruutz-Rees puts it (*Ch. de Sainte-Marthe*, New York, 1910, p. 355), "rather weak attempts at Platonism." Perhaps one or two other poets did the same before 1541, but their feeble efforts are not worthy of consideration. To use M. Lefranc's words, before 1541 Platonism was the "apanage des érudits et des penseurs isolés."

[2] Cf. p. 63, above.

publication of the *Contr'amye de Court*, but also because of his early interest in Platonism in general, would have to be ranked as one of those who introduced Platonism into French literature.[1] Furthermore, so far as the *Contr'amye de Court* is concerned, his Platonism is purer and freer from outside influences than is that of Héroët or of Marguerite. He bases himself on the *Symposium*,[2] and thus avoids the introduction into his poem of some of the Neo-Platonic subtilities that are to be found in the *Parfaicte Amye* and in the mystical works of the Queen of Navarre.[3]

It is not as an artistic production that I desire to call attention to the *Contr'amye de Court*. Its style may be characterized in a few words: it is rambling, prolix, full of repetitions, and, to the modern reader, often quite lacking in charm. I would call attention particularly to the ideas contained in its thirteen hundred verses, for some of these ideas were there put before the general public of the sixteenth century for the first time. It should be borne in mind that the French poets who in 1541 surpassed Fontaine in the ability to compose graceful verses were few.[4] If we can put ourselves in the place of a reader of the period in which the *Contr'amye de Court* was written, we can readily

[1] Héroët's *Androgyne de Platon* was presented in manuscript to Francis I in 1536. It was not published until 1542. If Héroët was interested in Plato in 1536, there is no reason why Fontaine may not have been. — As for the probable date of the beginning of Marguerite of Navarre's interest in Platonism, cf. Lefranc, *Grands écrivains de la Renaissance*, p. 80: "Ce fut très probablement dans les environs de l'année 1540 que commença à s'éveiller dans l'âme de la reine de Navarre un goût marqué pour les doctrines platoniciennes."

[2] Although the *Contr'amye de Court* contains some borrowings from the third and fourth books of the *Cortegiano*, its Platonism is clearly derived from the *Symposium*. When the *Contr'amye de Court* and the *Cortegiano* treat the same Platonic questions, the treatment of the *Contr'amye* is fuller and closer to the *Symposium*. In many cases the *Contr'amye* has ideas that are in the *Symposium*, but are not in the *Cortegiano*.

[3] The *Contr'amye de Court* was dedicated to the Cardinal of Lorraine. The edition published in 1544 by Galiot du Pré, of Paris, which I have used as a basis for a synopsis, contains a notice to the reader by "a friend of the author," probably Denys Sauvage.

[4] Of the contemporary poets who had published anything before 1541, Marot and Scève were perhaps the only ones superior to Fontaine.

understand why it met with the warm approval of the public. Its style was not then thought sufficiently weak to prevent readers from recognizing that it was worthy of attention because of the attitude taken by its author in the most important intellectual question of the epoch.

The Contr'amye de Court opens her discourse by telling of the indignation she felt when she first learned of the contents of the *Amie de Court*, which she has decided to endeavor to refute. Feeling that she is not equal to the task, she prays to the god of love for inspiration. Cupid not only answers her prayer, but shows his affection for his faithful servant by appearing before her in his dove-drawn chariot, accompanied by a brilliant retinue of captive youths and maidens.[1] To her he says:

> Or sus, fay ton debvoir
> De soustenir ton honneur et pouvoir.
> Je suys puissant: tu voys de toute taille
> Les prisonniers que je prens en bataille.
> Honnoré suys: tu voys l'hommaige et foy
> Des peuples grands vers moy, qui suys leur roy.
> Mon char voys plain de richesses haultaines,
> Mes aesles d'or et de perles tant plaines.

Who is this Contr'amye de Court for whom a god quits his heavenly abode ? To the ladies she is addressing she gives complete information about her early training, the origin of her fidelity to Love, and the benefits she has received through this fidelity. She is the daughter of an honorable merchant, who spent much of his time in study and in the company of scholars, and who had an extreme dislike for the vain and idle rich and for their disregard of virtue.[2] Night and day he preached to his two daughters on love:

> Du dieu Amour tousjours estoit son chant:
> Du dieu Amour tousjours alloit preschant.

[1] Fontaine's description of Love, his equipage, and his train, is taken from Ovid's *Amores*, i, 2. Compare the beginning of Clément Marot's *Temple de Cupido*.

[2] Concerning Goujet's conjecture that Fontaine is here describing his own father, see p. 5, above.

Aymez l'Amour (disoit il), mes fillettes,
C'est un grand dieu,[1] soyez à luy subjectes:
Ce temps pendant que l'Amour aymerez,
Pendant que vous ses subjectes serez,
N'en doubtez point, Amour vous maintiendra
Heureusement, et tout bien vous viendra.
C'est le seul dieu entre tous autres dieux
Le plus bénin et le plus gracieux:
C'est le seul dieu qui les autres accorde:
C'est le seul dieu de paix et de concorde,
Qui les haultz dieux des hommes offensez
Va appaisant.[2]

The " loyal merchant " now begins a discourse on the benefits of love and its presence not only in the hearts of men and women, but in the lower animals and inanimate objects throughout the universe:

C'est celuy dieu par qui fut fait ce monde,
Qui entretient ceste machine ronde:
Car le soleil, la lune et les planettes,
Qu'on voit au ciel tant belles et tant nettes,
Ne donneroient ça bas leurs influences,
Dont les effectz nous donnent apparences,
Si ce n'estoit qu'Amour le puissant dieu
Les incitast regarder ce bas lieu:
Pour y produyre à nostre utilité
De tous les biens une fertilité.
Les blez, les vins, les arbres, et les fruictz
Viennent de là, et par ce sont produictz.

Who preserves harmony among the elements ? continues the merchant. Who regulates the hot and the cold, the dry and the

[1] Cf. *Symposium:* " Phaedrus began by affirming that Love is a mighty god, and wonderful among gods and men " (Jowett, *The Dialogues of Plato*, 1892, vol. i, p. 548).

[2] Cf. *Symposium*, Agathon's speech: " And so Love set in order the empire of the gods. . . . In the days of old . . . dreadful deeds were done among the gods, for they were ruled by Necessity; but now, since the birth of Love, and from the love of the beautiful, has sprung every good in heaven and earth " (*ibid.*, i, 567). Eryximachus's speech: " And the love, more especially, which is concerned with the good, and which is perfected in company with temperance and justice, whether among gods or men, has the greatest power, and is the source of all our happiness and harmony, and makes us friends with the gods who are above us, and with one another " (*ibid.*, i, 558).

humid in our mortal bodies, and thus prevents sickness and death ?

Et pour parler des choses de plus près,
Les élémens en un bel ordre exprès
Feroient combat et très grande follie,
Si ce n'estoit qu'Amour les joinct et lie.
Et si l'Amour ne les attempéroit,
En nostre corps, la guerre se feroit:
Le chault vouldroit sur le froit dominer:
Le froit vouldroit le chault exterminer:
Pareillement le sec avec l'humide
Se combatroit, s'il estoit d'amour vuide:
Dont en noz corps causeroit tel discord,
Incontinent maladie et puys mort:
Si ce n'estoit Amour le dieu puissant,
Auquel ilz vont très bien obéissant . . .
Amour partout son povoir a semé,
Et par ainsi l'un est de l'aultre aymé.
Amour partout sa bonne graine sème,
Et de là vient que toute chose s'ayme.[1]

Who causes water to rise in a canal, notwithstanding the specific gravity of water is such as to make this seemingly impossible ? Who makes the flames dart into the ambient air ? Love, and

[1] Concerning this universal love, cf. *Symposium:* " Eryximachus spoke as follows: Seeing that Pausanias made a fair beginning, and but a lame ending, I must endeavor to supply his deficiency. I think that he has rightly distinguished two kinds of love. But my art further informs me that the double love is not merely an affection of the soul of man towards the fair, or towards anything, but is to be found in the bodies of all animals and in productions of the earth, and I may say in all that is. . . . Now the most hostile [elements in the human body] are the most opposite, such as hot and cold, bitter and sweet, moist and dry, and the like. And my ancestor, Asclepius, knowing how to implant friendship and accord in these elements, was the creator of our art. . . . The course of the seasons is also full of both these principles [good and evil love]; and when, as I was saying, the elements of hot and cold, moist and dry, attain the harmonious love of one another and blend in temperance and harmony, they bring to men, animals, and plants health and plenty, and do them no harm; whereas the wanton love, getting the upper hand and affecting the seasons of the year, is very destructive and injurious, being the source of pestilence, and bringing many other kinds of diseases on animals and plants; for hoar-frost and hail and blight spring from the excesses and disorders of these elements of love, which to know in relation to the revolutions of the heavenly bodies and the seasons of the year is termed astronomy " (*ibid.*, i, 556–558).

Love alone. Water does not extinguish fire because it hates fire, but because it loves itself to such a degree that it wishes to make the fire like itself by imparting to it some of its own "natural coldness." A house does not fall with a crash upon the head of its occupant because it hates the occupant, but because it loves itself, and seeks the center of the earth, its proper abode. The wolf does not devour the lamb, and the dog does not bite the thief because they hate the unfortunate creatures that fall under their teeth, but because the wolf loves his stomach and the dog his master.

Love is the inventor of the arts and sciences:

> Amour, qui est par tout le monde espars,
> A inventé les sciences et artz,
> Et les maintient en très belle ordonnance,
> Les esclarsit, les produit, les avance.
> Car qui pourroit aprendre ou inventer
> Art, si l'amour ne l'y vient inciter ?
> Sans forte amour et délectation,
> Nul ne viendroit à quelque invention.

Kings, princes, and even the god Mars must bow to Love:

> Amour est noble et plus fort que les roys:
> Les princes grans avec tous leurs arroys
> Sont tous contrainctz soubz luy leur chef baisser,
> Et hault et cler son povoir confesser . . .
> Mais que peult on dire, ny exprimer
> Plus impossible, incroyable en tout lieu
> Qu'un jeune enfant vaincre le plus fort dieu,
> C'est le dieu Mars.

Love, observes the "loyal merchant," cannot be bought with gold or silver or won by violence. Love alone is satisfied with itself, and asks as a reward only love in return:

> On a beau faire, oncques on ne l'efforce:
> Point n'est vaincu par argent ny par force:
> Car il est né en libre volunté,
> Procède et vient de cueur et de bonté.
> Certainement menasses, violances,
> Or, ny argent, cruaultez et vengences,
> Roys ne tyrans ne nous contraignent point

Que les aymions, voire d'un tout seul poinct.
Communément toute aultre affection,
Tout art humain, toute opération
Par dessus soy requiert quelque salaire:
Le seul amour est tousjours au contraire:
Le seul amour se contente de soy.
Car que requiert (telle est d'amour la loy)
Celuy qui ayme en cil qui est aymé,
Si non l'amour réciprocque exprimé,
Et devers luy faisant le sien retour ?
Car (comme on dit) amour demande amour.[1]

The " loyal merchant " closes his lesson by exhorting his daughters to follow and worship Love, the procreator and preserver of all things, the sole cause of noble deeds and good conduct:

Et puys qu'il est si noble et débonnaire
Qu'il faict tout bien de grâce voluntaire:
Puis que le monde en bon estat conserve,
Aymer le fault d'amour libre et non serve,
Et comme père, estant de tout autheur,
Pareillement aussi conservateur:
Puis qu'il produit tout art qu'on peult congnoistre,
Suyvre le fault comme seigneur et maistre,
Par quel autheur sommes créez et nez:
Par quel seigneur nous sommes gouvernez:
Et par quel maistre à bien faire et bien vivre
Sommes instruictz, si le voulons ensuyvre.[2]

[1] In the *Phaedrus*, Plato says that true love is always shared by the loved one.

[2] For the substance of this and the foregoing quotations, cf. *Symposium*, Agathon's speech: ". . . of all the blessed gods he is the most blessed because he is the fairest and best. . . . For all men in all things serve him of their own free will. . . . Who will deny that the creation of the animals is his doing ? Are they not all the works of his wisdom, born and begotten of him ? And as to the artists, do we not know that he only of them whom Love inspires has the light of fame ? . . . The arts of medicine and archery and divination were discovered by Apollo, under the guidance of love and desire; so that he too is a disciple of Love. Also the melody of the Muses, the metallurgy of Hephaestus, the weaving of Athene. the empire of Zeus over gods and men, are all due to Love, who was the inventor of them . . . From the love of the beautiful has sprung every good in heaven and earth . . . as to courage, even the God of War is no match for him. . . And if he conquers the bravest of all others, he must be himself the bravest . . . In whose footsteps let every man follow, sweetly singing in his honour and joining in that sweet strain with which Love charms the souls of gods and men " (Jowett. i. 565–567).

The Contr'amye treasured her father's golden words, and put them into practice. When fourteen or fifteen years old, as a result of her fealty to Love, she was so virtuous and so beautiful that every man and woman in the city sought her acquaintance and friendship. Never, says she, could such a result have been achieved through the artifices employed by maidens who prize not modesty, and who seek to attract attention by a brazen display of costly raiment, precious jewels, and painted cheeks. It is absurd to deck oneself in borrowed plumage, adds the Contr'amye, when the god of love himself is contented with a most scanty attire to set off his youth and beauty. Some women seem to mistake Cupid for the god of horsetraders:

> Dessus ce point ne puis que ne me rie,
> Qu'on le fait dieu de macquignonnerie:
> On se poupine, on se mire, et regarde,
> On se polit, on se frotte, et se farde,
> Comme un cheval qui passe par les mains
> Des macquignons d'avarice tant plains
> Que, pour avoir d'argent somme plus grosse,
> Pour ung rossin vous vendront une rosse,
> Tant ilz l'auront bien faicte et bien menée
> Tant bien polie et bien macquignonnée.
> Ainsi est il, O mes dames, souvent
> A grand regret je voy que l'on se vend,
> Et l'on se pace au plus offrant, et puis
> D'amour, dit on, telz sont les faictz, les fruictz.

The cupidity of women distresses the Contr'amye. In olden times the acquisition of wealth was not the only aim of woman,

> Mais aujourd'huy on ne quiert que richesses
> Et d'édifice et d'habitz les haultesses,
> Et follement au plus riche donneur
> On vend son corps, son âme, et son honneur.[1]

The direct replies given by the Contr'amye to La Borderie's *Amie de Court* are the least interesting portions of her discourse.

[1] The theme of Papillon's *Victoire et triumphe d'Argent*. — Concerning the "dishonor in being overcome by the love of money, or of wealth," see *Symposium* (Jowett, i, 554).

What can she say by way of refutation except that the Amie de Court is shameless, dishonorable, avaricious, deceitful, cruel, and mendacious? These accusations she repeats over and over again, first in one form and then in another, with the result that the poem becomes tedious and monotonous.[1] Among these repetitions there are, however, a few noteworthy passages. In an effort to paint the Amie de Court as black as possible, the Contr'-amye makes use of the following Platonic argument.[2] The heart, the life-giving organ, sends throughout the body in the blood the "vital spirit," which finds an outlet only through the eyes, "of the body guides and masters." The effect of a maiden's glance, reënforced by the vital spirit, is not unlike that produced by the gaze of the basilisk, for when she turns her amorous look upon a

[1] To some of the Amie de Court's statements the Contr'amye replies thus: Accept gifts, despoil your lovers; your youth will soon pass, your beauty will soon fade, and then your lovers will shun you. You accept gifts. I do not.

> Amour est nud, et de soy se contente.
> Aussi je croy que dame à prendre aprise
> Facilement en prenant se rend prise.

You say honor and virtue guide you. This applies to me rather than to you. You wish to be worshipped by a multitude of serfs, and to love no one. If, as you say, "tu te vas contentant de toy mesme,"

> Quel besoing donc as tu de t'appuyer
> Sur tant d'amys pour te désennuyer?

You invoke certain gods, for example Juno and Hymen. So why not invoke Love?

> Car sans l'Amour et sa grand déité
> Juno, Hymen perdroient leur dignité.

The Contr'amye also takes the Amie de Court to task for preferring a rich fool to a poor man of intelligence:

> Le sot espoux en fin t'abysmera:
> L'espoux sçavant en fin t'eslèvera.

She praises poverty and disparages riches and avarice. Concerning poverty, she says:

> Tu dis que c'est chose fort misérable:
> Bien, mais que soit un mal tout incurable,
> Je te le nie, et sans dispute obscure,
> Dix mille escuz en feront tost la cure.

[2] *Phaedrus* (Jowett, i, 457.) Cf. Castiglione, *Il Cortegiano*, lib. IV, cap. lxv-lxvi. Castiglione, however, represents the woman's glance as beneficial. V. Cian calls attention to the fact that in this passage Castiglione bases himself on Ficino's *In Convivium Platonis Commentarium*.

susceptible youth he is seen to grow cold, languish, and even expire. Hence, the maiden who indulges in coquetry is nothing less than a thief, a murderess, a sacrilegious demon:

Qui ayme aultruy, ou qui monstre semblant,
Il va son sang par les traictz d'œil troublant:
Car tout ainsi que le soleil, qui est
Le cueur du monde, et qui meult sans arrest,
En ce mouvant eschauffe et illumine
Avec ses rays du monde la machine,
Y espandant sa vigueur et vertu:
De nostre corps ainsi le cueur batu
Par mouvement, lequel jamais ne cesse,
Le sang prochain nous eschauffe sans cesse,
Et par ce sang l'esprit vital envoye
Par tout le corps: mais il trouve sa voye
Facilement par les vitres des yeulx,
Car luy subtil par là passe trop mieulx:
Pource que l'œil, membre noble et gentil,
Par sus tout autre appert cler et subtil.
Par les yeulx donc, du corps guydes et maistres,
L'esprit vital, comme par deux fenestres,
Passe tousjours, et plus facilement,
Sans doubte aucun, et plus abondamment . . .
L'esprit vital, vray siège et char de l'âme,
Les yeulx d'autruy par les nostres enflame,
Les navre et tue, et puys après le cueur.
Car par les yeulx ceste vive liqueur,
Vivement traicte ardente et bien subtile,
Descend au cueur fort légière et habile,
Et luy ravit sa chaleur et sa vie.
Car, n'ayant point d'habiter là envie,
Incontinent se retire chez soy,
Pillant l'autruy par force et faulse loy,
Et emportant son sang et sa vigueur
Le laisse mort, ou en grande langueur.
Et de là vient que telz amans navrez
Sont tost de sens et d'esprit esguarez:
Tremblent de froit, car la vifve scintille
Entrant sur eulx, toute leur chaleur pille:
Sont tous pasmez, craintifz, espoventez,
Car la froideur cause timiditez.
A tous propos jectent souspirs extrêmes,
Sentent très bien qu'ilz se perdent eulx mesmes.
La dame, donc, qui son œil esvertue

Sur le jeune homme, en trahyson le tue:
Par ainsi est homicide et meurdrière:
Mais larronnesse et sacrilège arrière.

The Contr'amye supports her arguments with examples of true lovers, heroes, and heroines of antiquity: Hector, Lycurgus, Alexander, Cato, Julia, Cornelia, and others.[1] These noble souls, she remarks, did not value "gold and silver, instrument of all evils," more highly than honor and virtue. In her effort to emulate these upright personages, she intends to lead a virtuous life with the young man she has chosen as her husband:

Autruy n'ay pris, et autruy ne m'a prise,
Si non un seul jeune homme de hault pris,
Que pour mary et pour amy j'ay pris.
Et me voyant fort humble tant m'ayma
Que pour amye et femme prise m'a.
Je n'allois point haultaine et glorieuse,
Je n'allois point en habitz précieuse:
Mais bien j'allois ornée en ma jeunesse
De purité, de vertu, et simplesse,
Qui m'ont tant fait par ville renommer
Qu'on m'a voulu Vraye Amye nommer.

The Contr'amye praises love as the cause of good conduct and noble deeds:

Amour plein d'heur est tant parfaict et hault
Que plus que loix et que les artz il vault.
Les artz escriptz, dix millions de loix
N'ont la vertu, l'efficace et le poix
Pour exciter à bien faire et bien vivre
Comme l'Amour, quiconque le veult suyvre.

[1] The references in the *Contr'amye de Court*, one of Fontaine's earliest works, to mythology and ancient history are worthy of attention. The complete list of the persons referred to is as follows: Jupiter, Mars, Saturn, Apollo, Daphne, Phaon, Sappho, Paris, Oenone, Aeneas, Dido, Jason, Hypsipyle, Ulysses, Penelope, Hector, Andromache, Orpheus, Eurydice, Admetus, Alcestis, Hercules, Theseus, Eriphyle, Polydorus, Laomedon, Homer, Socrates, Xenophon, Phocion, Alexander, Lysander, Lycurgus, Solon, Crates, Bias, Cyrus, Croesus, Lucretia, Horace, Tiberius, Augustus, Curtius, the Gracchi, Cato, Fabricius, Julia, and Cornelia. From Horace's *Epistles* (i, 10), or from some other source, Fontaine reproduces the fable of the horse and the stag. From Ovid's *Amores* (iii, 8), he gives the account of the "temps du viel Saturne." Some of the names cited above show that he was also influenced by Ovid's *Heroides*, of which he published a translation later.

In vain do judges and executioners strive to rid the world of sin and crime, whereas

> Le seul Amour tout parfaict et constant
> Vous faict cela quasi en un instant.
> Car aussi tost qu'il a gainé les cueurs,
> Il mect a mort envies et rancueurs.
> Si tost qu'il est en ung cueur arresté,
> Il chasse hors villaine oysiveté,
> De mille maulx la nourrice et la mère.
> Il chasse hors mal heur et vitupère,
> Il chasse hors larrecin, convoitise,
> Fureur, erreur, faulseté et faintise:
> Et en leur lieu y met grâce, sagesse,
> Doulceur, bon heur, conseil, force et prouesse.
> Il est tant fort qu'il faict plus que les armes,
> Plus que tous preux en guerres et alarmes.
> Qui ne congnoist sa force et sa constance ?
> Qui osera luy faire résistance ?
> Qui ne congnoist, et qui n'a entendu
> Qu'il a maint cueur magnanime rendu ? [1]

As a parting thrust at the Amie de Court, the Contr'amye implores the god of love to inflict upon the recalcitrant maiden the most terrible of punishments, unrequited love:

> O dieu Amour, ceste imparfaicte amye,
> Qui est de toy si parfaicte ennemye,[2]
> Sente le traict doré, qui feit amy
> Apollo fier, jadis ton ennemy: . . .
> A celle fin que contre Amour armée,
> Ayme tousjours sans qu'elle soit aymée.

Before concluding the summary of the *Contr'amye de Court*, it is necessary to cite the following passage, which deals with what Héroët calls "parfection d'amour," that is, the presence of the

[1] These ideas are inspired by Phaedrus's speech in the *Symposium* (Jowett, i, 548–550), which ends: "These are my reasons for affirming that Love is the eldest and noblest and mightiest of the gods, and the chiefest author and giver of virtue in life, and of happiness after death." As examples of hearts "rendered magnanimous" by love Plato cites Alcestis, Orpheus, and Achilles; Fontaine cites Alcestis, Orpheus, Hercules, and Curtius.

[2] Cf. M. Gohin (p. xxviii): "Peut-être l'invocation finale de son poème [Fontaine's *Contr'amye*] a-t-elle fourni à Héroët le titre même de la *Parfaicte Amye*."

good, the virtuous, and the beautiful as essential elements of true love:

> Qu'amour soit beau, qui est ce qui en doubte ?
> Mais qu'il soit bon, je le prouve sans doubte.
> Certainement je dy que tout ainsi
> Que ce qui est meschant est laid aussi:
> Ce qui est bon est beau pareillement:
> Ce qui est beau ne peult aucunement
> Qu'il ne consiste en parfaict et bel ordre,
> Où n'y a rien que reprendre et que mordre:
> L'ordre parfaict gist en équalité,
> Proportion, grâce, honneur, dignité:
> Proportion gist en la convenance,
> En un accord et une tempérance:
> Et tempérance ou modestie gist
> En la vertu qui la beaulté régist:
> Ainsi amour ne peult estre qu'onneste,
> Beau, sage, bon, gracieux, et modeste:
> Car si beaulté gist en perfection,
> Et l'amour est une fruition
> De la beaulté: fault conclure en effect
> Qu'amour aussi doibt estre bien parfaict.[1]

This synopsis of the *Contr'amye de Court* suffices to show the influence exerted upon Fontaine by the *Symposium*.[2] Eryximachus's universal love, which " may be summed up as the harmony of man with himself in soul as well as body, and of all things in heaven and earth with one another," [3] forms, as I have pointed out, a great part of the lesson on love given by the " loyal merchant " to his daughters. Not only is the general thought of Eryximachus's speech adopted by Fontaine, but even some of the specific illustrations: for instance, hot and cold in the human body as preventives of sickness and death; and harmony among the heavenly bodies, the elements, and the animals of the earth.

The borrowings from Agathon's discourse are quite as striking. Most of the attributes ascribed by Fontaine to the god of love

[1] In these lines Fontaine is clearly trying to recapitulate some of the principal ideas of the beginning of Socrates's speech in the *Symposium* (Socrates's interrogation of Agathon, and Diotima's interrogation of Socrates). Cf. Jowett, i, 569 ff.

[2] And in one or two instances by the *Phaedrus*.

[3] Jowett, i, 530.

are those ascribed to him by Agathon; for example, beauty and courage, omnipotence as the creator and preserver of all things, far-reaching influence as " the fairest and best " of the gods, " and the cause of what is fairest and best in others."

From Phaedrus's speech is derived the idea that love causes good conduct and noble deeds; from Pausanias's speech the idea that it is dishonorable to love for the sake of money; from Pausanias's speech, too, the general distinction between a fair and a foul love, the underlying thought of the *Contr'amye de Court.*

Fontaine was well aware that the first five speeches of the *Symposium* " are all designed to prepare the way for Socrates, who gathers up the threads anew, and skims the highest points of each of them," [1] and that, as Socrates's speech is, as it were, a summing up of the leading points of the others, its importance is the greatest. So he introduced the doctrine set forth by Socrates that love, as the lover of the beautiful, which is the good, is the only safe guide to happiness.

But it may be said that, although Fontaine derived many of his ideas from the *Symposium*, he omitted one of the crowning ideas of that remarkable work, an idea that formed the very foundation of the Platonism of the Renaissance, — namely, the conception that the love of earthly beauty elevates man's mind to a contemplation of " the divine beauty pure and clear and unalloyed, not clogged with the pollutions of mortality and all the colours and vanities of human life." [2] Such an objection would be a most valid one. In the *Contr'amye de Court*, Fontaine did not go beyond a pleasing conception of what terrestrial love should be, — a disinterested longing for the good and the virtuous.[3] Im-

[1] Jowett, i, 526. [2] *Symposium* (Jowett, i, 582).

[3] In a dizain inscribed *A Damoiselle Catherine Morelet, fille de Monsieur de la Marcheferrière*, Fontaine says:

Belle, tu peux voir hardiment
Mon livret de la Contr'amie,
Car elle loue honnestement
La bonne amour, blasmant l'amie
Trop enchantée et endormie
Aux honneurs et biens de ce monde.
(*Les Ruisseaux*, p. 95).

portant document though it is for the study of the intellectual development of Fontaine and his time, the *Contr'amye de Court* does not contain the essence of Plato's theories on love. If it is to be proved that Fontaine was one of the most thorough Platonists of the early French Renaissance, the proof must be sought outside the *Contr'amye de Court*. In the *Ruisseaux de Fontaine*[1] there is a poem, *Épître, philosophant sur la bonne amour: à une dame*, which furnishes the required proof.

The epistle on good love is addressed to a lady with whom Fontaine was rather intimate. He tries to give her a definition of love as he understands it, he who has ever been compelled to love by the Fates themselves. His love, however, is not the kind that appeals to ordinary men, carnal love or silly infatuation for a pretty face or a trim figure, beauty that fades and withers with age. Virtue in man and woman has been the object of his quest, goodness that death cannot destroy, that lives on eternally:

> J'ay poursuivy tousjours l'amour honneste,
> Comme raison par honneur m'admoneste:
> Je n'ay jamais aymé sinon pour bien:
> Par cet escrit (dame) l'entendrez bien.
> Que si l'amour est chose en moy fatale,[2]

[1] P. 13. — The epistle on good love was probably written about the same time as the *Contr'amye de Court*, that is, during the period when Fontaine was most deeply engrossed with the question of love; and so it may be regarded as a supplement to the *Contr'amye*. The fact that the epistle was not published until 1555 does not mean that it may not have been written many years earlier. The *Ruisseaux* contains a number of poems composed as early as 1540, among others, Fontaine's correspondence with his uncle, Jean Dugué (about 1535), the salutation addressed by Fontaine to Renée de France upon his arrival at Ferrara, and a *Dieu gard à la ville de Lyon, faict l'an 1540*. The *Épître, philosophant sur la bonne amour*, grouped by Fontaine with several of these early poems, is an epitome of some of the principal ideas advanced by Bembo in his discourse on love in the fourth book of Castiglione's *Cortegiano* (chapters li–lxxiii). As Cian (*Il Cortegiano*, Florence, 1894, p. 407, note 1) and others have pointed out, Bembo's discourse in the *Cortegiano* is derived mainly from Plato's *Symposium* and *Phaedrus*, Ficino's commentaries on Plato, Francesco Cattani da Diacceto's *Tre libri d'Amore*, and Bembo's *Asolani*. The origins of Bembo's discourse account for the mingling of Platonism and Neo-Platonism in Fontaine's *Épître*. In the *Fontaine d'amour* (1545), Fontaine was, as we shall see, anything but a Platonist.

[2] Cf. Bembo in the *Cortegiano*, lib. IV, cap. lxi.

Ce n'est l'amour charnelle ne brutale,[1]
Ce n'est l'amour de beauté qui empire,
Et qui tousjours à sa vieillesse tire:
Ce n'est l'amour qui donne passion
Pour les beaux traitz ou la proportion:
Ce n'est l'amour ou de corps ou de face:
Ce n'est l'amour qui avec temps s'efface:
Mais c'est l'amour qui de bonne nature
En vertu croist et prend sa nourriture,
Et qui mourroit, certes, et cesseroit
Quand la vertu subjette à mort seroit:
Mais la vertu comme elle est immortelle,
Confesser fault que son amour est telle.

These prefatory remarks lead Fontaine to a definition of the love of the virtuous which has been his sole preoccupation. Love is a passion which seeks enjoyment from beauty. Beauty is a clear and pure ray of the divine essence communicated by the grace of God to the human soul and to angels. But the partition of this divine ray between men and angels is not equal. The angel being free from a mortal body, the clog that weighs down man, turns its gaze within its own breast, contemplates there the reflected image of the Creator, and wrapped in this ecstatic vision, admires the divine essence, and becomes one with it. The divine splendor, the object of the angel's contemplation, is beauty; the angel's admiration of the reflected divinity within its own breast and the subsequent coalescence of the angelic nature with the image of God are love. Would that the immortal soul of man, freed from the mortal body, might contemplate the face of the Almighty and embrace Him in an ecstasy of love!

Premièrement fault veoir que c'est qu'amour:
Comme l'entens le diray sans séjour.
Amour, amye, est une passion
Qui de beauté quiert la fruition:[2]
Et beauté est un rayon cler et digne,
Une splendeur de l'essence divine,[3]

[1] Concerning carnal love, see *Cortegiano*, lib. IV, cap. lii.

[2] Cf. *ibid.*, lib. IV, cap. li: "Amor non è altro che un certo desiderio di fruir la bellezza." Cf. *Contr'amye de Court*, p. 98, above.

[3] Cf. *ibid.*, lib. IV, capp. lii, lxii.

Que Dieu voulut à nostre âme [1] et à l'ange [2]
Communiquer, dont luy devons louange:
En tous ces deux, comme en double miroir,
Dieu faict sa gloire et lumière apparoir:
En tous ces deux (di je), ce néantmoins
Entendre fault en l'un plus, l'autre moins:
Car l'esprit d'ange empesché nullement
Du corps mortel, qui donne empeschement,[3]
Se réfleschit en soymesme et contemple
Dedans son sein, comme en un divin temple,
De Dieu l'image, en contemplant s'y mire:
En s'y mirant luy adhère et l'admire.[4]
Telle splendeur de la divinité,
En cet endroit nous l'appellons beauté:
Et telle ardeur de l'ange y adhérant,
Nous l'appellons amour. O corps mourant,
O pleust à Dieu que nostre âme jamais,
Ne tant, par toy fust empeschée! mais
Peust contempler en soy de Dieu la face,
Et l'ambrasser par amour et par grâce
Perfaictement, et qu'en ce peust ensuyvre
L'ange divin, qui est de corps délivre.

The beauty of mortal man and woman is not a transitory thing, doomed to fade and vanish; it has a loftier, a more sublime connotation. It is a reflection of heavenly beauty, placed on earth to uplift man's mind to a contemplation of the true, absolute beauty of the celestial abode, of which we catch a glimpse in the sky, the sun, the moon, and the myriads of stars:

Ainsi beauté n'est chose corporelle,
Pareillement n'est chose temporelle.
Mais la beauté, qu'on dit communément
Beauté de corps,[5] dont le linéament,
La quantité, couleur, proportion

[1] Cf. *Cortegiano*, lib. IV, cap. lix.

[2] Cf. *ibid.*, lib. IV, cap. lxviii. Cf. Cian's note, *ibid.*, p. 428: "Naturalmente Platone non parlò né di bellezza angelica, né, in modo esplicito di Dio; e queste espressioni e questi concetti l'Autore [Castiglione] li attingeva dai neo-platonici, specie dal Ficino, che più d'ogni altro s'era spinto innanzi nella trasformazione cristiana del platonismo."

[3] Concerning the body as the clog of the soul, see *ibid.*, lib. IV, cap. liii.

[4] Cf. *ibid.*, lib. IV, cap. lxviii.

[5] Cf. *ibid.*, lib. IV, cap. lviii.

Tire nostre œil en admiration,
Ce n'est sinon qu'ombre déclarative
De la beauté eternelle et naïve:
Et ce n'en est qu'une image ou peinture,
Pour parvenir (comme dit l'escriture)
Au hault degré des choses invisibles,
Qui tousjours sont belles et impassibles:[1]
La grand' beauté desquelles et la gloire
Le ciel racompte et nous la fait notoire,
Comme aussi font la lune et le souleil,
Et tout cela qu'au ciel voyons à l'œil.[2]

Fontaine develops further his conception of earthly beauty by applying it to his own experience. The sight of beauty in man or woman pleases him because the beautiful human body is the depository of the divine image which he desires to love for its infinite perfection. He tarries little in the contemplation of the physical charms of those about him, — he is seeking something higher and nobler, seeking to learn whether the charming body hides the untarnished image of divinity. If the deeds, the conversation, the thoughts of the human creature indicate that the divine spark is wanting, he turns his love in another direction:

Si donc je trouve ou homme ou femme belle,
En la beauté que l'on dit corporelle,
Cela me plaist, comme un indice et signe
Que là dedans est l'image divine,
Que veux aymer pour sa grande beauté,
Perfection, infinie clarté.
Parquoy ne veux m'arrester au dehors,
Ny seulement considérer le corps:
Mais procédant plus oultre, veux congnoistre
Si au dedans l'image qui doit estre
Saine et entière, et la beauté naïve
Du trèsparfaict y est point morte ou vive.
Et si aux faictz, aux dictz, à la pensée,
La viens trouver là dedans effacée,
Incontinent de là je me retire,

[1] Cf. *Cortegiano*, lib. IV, cap. lxvii.

[2] Concerning the beauty of the heavens and the "heavenly lights," see *ibid.*, lib. IV, cap. lviii. Concerning divine beauty, "the source of every other beauty, which never waxes or wanes," see *ibid.*, lib. IV, cap. lxix.

Et mon amour en une autre part tire,
Disant ainsi: ce corps est séducteur,
Ce corps est fainct, ce corps est un menteur:
Car de beauté a le signe et indice,
Mais là dedans la corrompt par son vice.
Ce corps menteur, sans effect, a le signe
De la beauté dont il se rend indigne.[1]
Or je ne veux la seule ombre poursuyvre,
Et Narcissus en ce je ne veux suyvre:
Car comme luy en fin trompé serois,
Quand trop en vain l'ombre j'embrasserois
Pour le vray corps de la beauté extrême,
Qui est de Dieu l'image, mais Dieu mesme.

Fontaine's philosophizing on good love ends thus:

Dame, tu voys comme on doit estimer
La beauté vraye, et poursuyvre et aymer:
Et l'on ne doit, au contraire, avoir cure
De beauté faincte en couleur ou figure:
Et que l'amour est chose vertueuse,
Honneste, belle, et non voluptueuse:
Pareillement comment l'amour s'estend
Sur homme ou femme, et nul mal ne prétend.
Car aussi tost sur femme que pucelle,
En qui de Dieu la clarté estincelle,
Et aussi tost sur homme que sur femme
Mon cueur d'amour vertueuse s'enflamme:
Je ne m'arreste aux constellations,
A nourriture, et aux complexions.[2]

So far as Platonism, as it was understood during the Renaissance, is concerned, Fontaine has now gone as far as it is possible for him to go. He has given a clear exposition of "that amalgam of Platonism, Neo-Platonism and Christianity which had been compounded by Marsilio Ficino and the Florentine Academy."[3]

[1] Concerning the possibility of a wicked soul inhabiting a beautiful body, see *Cortegiano*, lib. IV, capp. liii–lviii. Concerning the possibility of one's being deceived by a beautiful face which disguises wantonness, see *ibid.*, lib. IV, cap. lx.

[2] For other "definitions" of love, see Mellin de Saint-Gelais, Blanchemain ed., vol. i, p. 82, and Ronsard, Blanchemain ed., vol. i, p. 216, both in imitation of a poem by Bembo. Concerning the "définition" as a form of literature, see Sibilet, *Art poëtique*, II, x.

[3] Cf. p. 77, note 2, above.

In the *Contr'amye de Court*, which is based largely on the *Symposium*, and in the *Épître, philosophant sur la bonne amour*, which is derived wholly from the *Cortegiano*, he has set forth his views on honorable earthly love and spiritual love in a manner that must win for him a place among the earliest and the most important Platonists of the French Renaissance.

To return to the "querelle des amies." It was as the lieutenant of Fontaine that Antoine Héroët entered the debate with his *Parfaicte Amye*. M. Gohin who, although recognizing that the *Contr'amye de Court* was published before the *Parfaicte Amye*, evidently discovered no Platonism in it,[1] says (pp. xxviii–xxix):

> Charles Fontaine semble aussi avoir rallié autour de lui les poètes [to oppose La Borderie's *Amie de Court*]; c'est à lui en effet, comme nous verrons, que plusieurs adressent leurs vers vengeurs . . . Il appartenait à l'auteur de l'*Androgyne* [Héroët] de venger le dieu outragé, en démontrant la céleste origine de l'amour et son heureuse influence sur l'esprit et le cœur de l'homme.[2] Héroët laisse entendre qu'il avait d'abord intitulé son nouveau poème *Perfection d'amour ;* il adopta le titre de la *Parfaicte Amye*, sans doute pour l'opposer plus clairement à l'œuvre de La Borderie. Le début rappelle en effet presque mot pour mot le début de l'*Amie de Court;* dans le premier livre, Héroët reprend en détail les déclarations de l' "amie de court," en faisant honneur à son héroïne de sentiments tout opposés. La "parfaicte amye" affecte de ne pas nommer son ennemie; cette marque de dédain lui semble imposée par le sentiment de sa dignité . . . Héroët donna à sa réplique la même forme que La Borderie avait donnée à son œuvre.

The *Parfaicte Amye* is divided into three books.[3] It is put in the mouth of a married woman who, having been forced to wed

[1] M. Gohin (p. xxviii) apparently saw in the *Contr'amye de Court* only a regret for the "amour naïf d'autrefois,

Lorsqu'on allait vestu de tiretaine,

cet amour du 'bon vieux temps,' disait Clément Marot,

Qui sans grand art et dons se démenoit."

M. Lefranc, in his latest work, *Grands écrivains français de la Renaissance*, also makes no mention of the Platonism in the *Contr'amye de Court*.

[2] I have shown above that Fontaine treated these points.

[3] 1662 lines in all. For Héroët's borrowings from Plato and the *Cortegiano*, see the notes of M. Gohin (pp. 5 ff.) and of M. Arnoux (*Un précurseur de Ronsard, A. Héroët*, pp. 60 ff.). M. Arnoux gives in these pages a detailed synopsis of the *Parfaicte Amye*.

an undesirable husband, seeks extra-conjugal felicity in the love of the man for whom she was destined. She states her feelings toward her husband and her lover as follows:

> Dames, oyez. Icy je suis contraincte
> De convertir ma louange en complaincte.
> Si par parens, par commune raison,
> Si pour haulser l'honneur de ma maison,
> A la mercy d'ung maistre suis submise,
> Long temps après qu'avois esté requise
> D'ung serviteur, lequel n'estant plus sien,
> Je ne pouvois espérer d'estre mien:
> Si je sers l'ung de mauldicte adventure,
> Et je commande à l'aultre de nature:
> Si l'ung m'est vie, et l'aultre dure mort:[1]
> En bien aymant, auquel feray je tort,
> Ou à celuy qui de mon heur abuse,
> Ou à celuy qui maulgré moy refuse ?

In the beginning of the first book the Parfaicte Amye says that it is not her intention to discourse on love in general. That would lead her too far afield, for are there not as many kinds of love as there are lovers ? Her own love is to be her theme, and as her love is perfect,

> Parfection d'amour sera mon livre
> Intitulé.

She is too frank to try to make her listeners believe that her love has always been the divine passion that now fills her soul with rapture. She was so young when she became enamored of her beloved that her love was probably due to his handsome appearance and not to his hidden virtues. But years have passed, and her love remains as chaste and as firm as ever; instead of diminishing, it becomes deeper day by day:

> Et si ne crains que jamais temps destruise
> Une amytié, qui est trop myeulx assise
> Que sus beaulté, fondement non durable:[2]
> Plus il vieillist, plus je le trouve aymable.

[1] This is merely a practical opposition of Plato's earthly or common love and heavenly love (*Symposium*, Jowett, i, 550–551). Cf. Fontaine, pp. 101 ff., above.

[2] Cf. Fontaine, p. 101, above.

She does not fear the accusation that she began to love her lover because of his dignities, honors, and wealth:

Luy mesmes sçait combien d'empeschements
Ses biens ont faict à noz contentements,
Et quantesfoys soubhaitta sa richesse
Estre changée en paouvre gentillesse,[1]
Pour esprouver ce qu'il ne pouvoit croyre,
Que le temps seul luy a rendu notoyre.

The difference between her love and the love of ordinary mortals lies in the fact that hers is God-given, and that she has always nourished it with pure thoughts:

l'amytié, qui est du ciel venue,
Et que depuis j'ay fatalle tenue,
M'appercevant que sa forte racine
Issue estoit de voulunté divine . . .[2]
Mais davantage aux dames je me vente
Que si divin fut son commencement,
Entretenu je l'ay divinement.
Premièrement quant à sa nourriture,
Je l'ay repeu d'une pensée pure,
Insatiable à mon amy pensant,
Tant, si souvent, et de cueur si pressant,
Qu'on eust pensé que bien tost ma pensée
De trop penser debvoit estre lassée:
Mais quand j'avois ung pensement passé,
Je l'oubliois pour estre repensé:
Ainsi de luy plus que de moy pensive,
En moy j'estois trop plus morte que vive,
Et ruminois en luy non aultrement
Qu'en me rendant mutuel pensement,
Comme noz cueurs à mourir incités
Se soient l'ung l'autre entreressuscités.

This interchange of thoughts results in an interchange of hearts, so that in the end the Parfaicte Amye becomes the possessor of her lover's heart. All women cannot understand this kind of love:

A qui seroit sans amour eslevée,
Faisant vertu d'ignorance et de vice,

[1] Cf. Fontaine, p. 94, note 1, above.
[2] Cf. Fontaine, pp. 101 ff., above.

Ne congnoissant aultre Dieu qu'avarice,[1]
Il ne fault point descouvrir mes parolles,
Qu'elles tiendroient impossibles ou folles.

Her divine love prevents the Parfaicte Amye from suffering the pangs of jealousy which harass women engrossed with ordinary loves. If her lover is loved by another woman more beautiful than herself, she renders thanks to that woman, since her lover derives pleasure from the love of the beautiful woman, and inasmuch as his heart is hers, she eventually gets all the enjoyment. Besides, she is confident that the cloud will soon pass, and that her lover will return to her as faithful as before.

After a few remarks on the gossip her apparently illegal love may occasion (which she does not mind, since the purity of her love causes her to scorn scandalmongers), after several thrusts at her wearisome husband, and further assurances of the fidelity of her lover and of herself, the Parfaicte Amye sets forth the following conception of love: Love is the union on earth of two souls which have been previously united in a heavenly existence, and which, by a complete intellectual understanding, attest the divine origin of their love. With a word on the spiritual kiss of divine lovers, which must not be regarded as sinful, the Parfaicte Amye brings the first book to a close.

In the second book she tells what would become of her should her lover precede her to the grave.[2] She says that she does not speak of the death of her " amy " in order to prepare herself for the shock his death would cause her. She is aware that her life will be short, and she desires to make the most of her beloved while she may. But should he die, her grief would be inconsolable; death would be her only refuge. If, after her lover's death, her husband and her kindred should learn of her love for him,

[1] Cf. Fontaine, p. 93, and p. 94, note 1, above.

[2] M. Gohin and M. Arnoux point out that the second book treats the essential ideas of Diotima's speech in the *Symposium:* love is immortal; terrestrial love elevates us to a knowledge of God; terrestrial beauty elevates us to a knowledge of supreme beauty.

little would she care. Her grief at his death would outweigh any sorrow that might arise from the scorn of the world.

According to popular belief, continues the Parfaicte Amye, death brings about the separation of soul and body. When her lover's soul leaves his body, she prays that a like favor may be granted her, that their souls may be reunited in heaven whence they came.

She makes known her lover's ideas on beauty:

> Il me souvient luy avoir ouÿ dire
> Que la beaulté que nous voyons reluyre
> Es corps humains n'estoit qu'une estincelle
> De ceste là qu'il nommoit immortelle:
> Que ceste cy, bien qu'elle fust sortie
> De la céleste, et d'elle une partie,
> Si toutesfoys entre nous périssoit,
> Si s'augmentoit, ou s'elle décroissoit,
> Que l'aultre estoit entière et immobile.

This [says Mr. Kerr] is the Renaissance doctrine of beauty as interpreted by the cultured Platonist exegetes of the sixteenth century, by Bembo, Castiglione, by Marguerite of Navarre . . .[1]

Héroët now proceeds [he continues[2]] to elaborate a very remarkable theory, that alluded to on page 25 [see p. 108, above]. His idea is that our souls before being summoned to put on earthly bodies were engaged in heaven in the contemplation of divine beauty; that after birth the memory of the previous state is practically lost, but that a remembrance of it is vouchsafed to those who here below love truly. Then the experience of love brings back to the lover a recollection of his former bliss, and with this standard of eternal beauty in mind, the lover is now able rightly to measure earthly beauty as a part and pattern of the beauty which pervades and transfuses the universe [Mr. Kerr quotes II, 897–913].

In the theory here put forward Héroët appears to go a step beyond his contemporaries who, basing themselves pretty squarely on the *Symposium*, held only that the lover was insensibly raised by the contemplation of human beauty — and, especially to the Renaissance, as typified in a woman — to a comprehension of celestial beauty. Héroët, however, makes it clear that a spiritual love of woman may awaken recollection of a pre-natal experience of heavenly beauty, which then becoming our standard enables us to judge correctly the nature and meaning of that physical beauty with which we have fallen in love.

[1] *Publ. of the Mod. Lang. Ass'n of America*, 1905, p. 578. Mr. Kerr might have added " by Fontaine " (cf. pp. 101 ff., above).

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 578 ff.

Héroët now attempts to account for the Platonic lover's feelings — a mixture " d'horreur et d'admiration " [1] on beholding his lady:

Cela ne vient d'humaine affection
Ny de la terre, ainsi que nous pensons:
Il vient du ciel, dont nous recongnoissons
Ceste beaulté de femme estre sortie,
Et nous souvient du tout par la partie: [2]
Il nous souvient de la saison passée,
De la beaulté, qu'au ciel avons laissée.

This is the purest Platonism: contact with a part of beauty is to remind the lover that the cause of his feelings is not of human origin; but descends from heaven, which also is the source of woman's beauty.[3]

Héroët hints at a conception of Platonism as something akin to a social gospel, an idea we find in Marguerite of Navarre, who seems for a time at least to have looked upon Platonism as a lever by which woman might exert a refining influence over man . . .[4] According to Héroët, then, the soul, recognizing in its earthly love an echo of the divine, feels — and this is a nice Neo-Platonic touch — that beauty has predestinated and chosen it; so the lover, feeling his " calling and election sure," tries to curb his passions, purify his life, and by the proper use of earthly beauty to attain to higher things . . .

The final note of Book II is that of the future bliss of the lovers when reunited in heaven, in enjoyment of that beauty towards which their present love is but a desire.[5]

In the third book,[6] after speaking of man's duty to sacrifice to love as the propagator of the human race, the Parfaicte Amye

[1] The passage referred to by Mr. Kerr follows:

Voyez, disoit, amye, quelcque aymant
Qui ait le bruict d'aymer bien loyaulment,
Si quelcque dame a d'amour poursuivy,
Quand il la veoit, est surprins et ravy,
Crainct, et s'asseure, ose, et puis se retient,
Ung tremblement par tout le corps luy vient,
Et raisonnable ensemble et vouluntaire,
Voulant parler est forcé de se taire.

Compare these lines with those of Fontaine, p. 95, above, beginning " Et de là vient."

[2] Cf. Fontaine, p. 103, above.

[3] Cf. Fontaine, pp. 101–103, above.

[4] Cf. Fontaine, pp. 92, 96, 97, above.

[5] The gist of the passage follows: In heaven

Vertu voirrons, non pas comme elle semble,
Mais comme elle est. Là beaulté trouverons
Et la bonté.

For this juxtaposition of virtue, beauty, and goodness, cf. Fontaine, p. 98, above.

[6] Cf. M. Gohin (p. 58, note 1): " Ce troisième livre correspond aux discours

declares that this world is a wretched vale of tears, full of evil, ambition, envy, sorrow, and torments. A miserable abode it would be if one were unable to find a guide, and this guide can be only the heaven-sent lover.

The woman who loves knows what suits her lover, knows how to appease his anger and to anticipate his every desire.[1] She can never be charged with ignorance,

> Car l'ignorante ou sotte n'ayme poinct.

As to the body:

> Y a il rien qui nuyse
> A femme tant, quelcque chose qu'on die,
> Que la laydeur ou que la maladie ?
> Certes nenny. Car, comme la beaulté
> Est le pourtraict d'excellente bonté,
> Ainsi laydeur est signe de tout vice
> Et se peult dire image de malice.[2]

However, says the Parfaicte Amye, every woman cannot be beautiful. Some are more beautiful than others in the beginning, but love places them all on the same level:

> Femme qui est aymée et amoureuse
> Oncques ne fut layde ou malicieuse.

The Parfaicte Amye seeks to encourage her needy sisters by declaring that poverty should never deter them from loving, and to spur on the timid creatures who, steeped in the nonsense of

d'Alcibiade et d'Agathon, dans le *Banquet* [*Symposium*], sur la nature et les bienfaits de l'amour: l'amour donne la vie, le bonheur, la science, etc." Héroët says, for example:

> Ne debvons nous à l'amour, comme autheur
> De nostre vie et vray médiateur,
> Sacrifier ? et touts, femmes et hommes,
> Le mercier de ce que par luy sommes ? . . .
> . . . c'est luy seul, qui le bien nous délivre,
> Et qui nous faict touts heureusement vivre . . .
> Le plus grief mal qui advienne à personne,
> C'est cestuy là que l'ignorance donne . . .
> Qui ayme bien, quiconque amour honore,
> Ou rien, ou peu, moins que tout aultre ignore.

Cf. Fontaine, pp. 89, 91, 92, above.

[1] Unselfishness is one of the most striking traits of the Parfaicte Amye.

[2] Cf. Fontaine, p. 98, above.

Petrarch and his imitators, may shrink from love for fear of the torments these poets declare to be its necessary concomitants.

Celle qui ayme est riche à suffisance,
Elle a tousjours de son bien jouyssance:
Ambition ne la sçauroit tenir
Ny avarice aultre circonvenir . . .[1]
Et s'en fault tant qu'amants, qui se contentent,
Le mal venant de pauvreté ne sentent,
Qu'il n'est remède au monde, ny science,
Que bien aymer pour fuyr indigence.[2]

True love is always reciprocal:

Dames, je vous promets
Qu'il n'adviendra, et il n'advint jamais,
Que vraye amour n'ayt esté réciprocque.[3]

The Parfaicte Amye closes her discourse with this exhortation to women:

Faictes à luy [à votre ami] de voz cueurs sacrifice,
Laissez luy en tout le gouvernement,
Et s'il ne faict bien et heureusement
Vivre chascune en ses amours contente,
Ne m'appellez jamais parfaicte amante.

Whoever reads carefully Fontaine's *Contr'amye de Court* and *Épître, philosophant sur la bonne amour* and Héroët's *Parfaicte Amye*, and examines the parallel ideas in Héroët's and Fontaine's poems, will, I am sure, be convinced that, in so far as essential ideas are concerned, the Platonism of the two poets is virtually identical.[4] This need occasion no surprise. Fontaine and Héroët were friends who had studied Plato's doctrines, who had perhaps conversed about them, and who, in answering the same poem, La Borderie's *Amie de Court*, based their answers on the

[1] Cf. Fontaine, p. 97, above.

[2] For Fontaine's ideas on poverty, cf. p. 94, note 1, above.

[3] Compare Héroët's poem, *Aultre invention extraicte de Platon. De n'aymer point sans estre aymé* (Gohin, pp. 96–99). Cf. Fontaine, p. 92, above.

[4] The sole essential idea in the *Parfaicte Amye* that does not occur in the *Contr'amye de Court* or in the *Épître, philosophant sur la bonne amour* is the one that Mr. Kerr calls " a very remarkable theory " (p. 109, above), only the germ of which, at most, is to be found in Plato.

writings of the same authors, Plato and Castiglione. The differences in the Platonism of the two men are also quite natural. Héroët derived his ideas from Plato's *Symposium*, *Phaedrus*, and *Lysis*, and from Castiglione's *Cortegiano;* Fontaine confined himself almost entirely to the *Symposium* and the *Cortegiano*. Although Fontaine's *Contr'amye de Court* was published, and his *Épître, philosophant sur la bonne amour* was possibly written, before Héroët's *Parfaicte Amye* was published, and although Héroët probably got the title of his *Parfaicte Amye* from the closing lines of the *Contr'amye*, I am inclined to think that Fontaine's poems did not influence that of Héroët in the least. The close resemblance between their ideas is merely a coincidence caused by the fact that they chose practically the same sources.

The number of editions of the *Contr'amye* and of the *Parfaicte Amye* — a score for each, about ten before 1550 — and the praises of contemporaries indicate that the *Contr'amye de Court* was quite as popular with the readers of 1542–50 as was the *Parfaicte Amye*. The Renaissance was a time of jousting in books as well as in the lists. The Contr'amye de Court's wrangling with the Amie de Court, the part of Fontaine's poem that appeals least to the modern reader, probably appealed as much to the reader of the sixteenth century as did the ideas derived from the *Symposium*.

To a discerning reader of the present day, however, the *Parfaicte Amye* is in some respects superior to the *Contr'amye de Court*. We cannot but think that Héroët displayed rare judgment in assuming a disdainful attitude towards the Amie de Court, and in refusing to give direct replies to her cynical observations. Such an attitude enabled him to maintain a dignified philosophical tone throughout the *Parfaicte Amye*. Héroët's Platonism forms the entire theme of his poem; Fontaine's Platonism is mingled with more or less trivial digressions and with attempts to refute the *Amie de Court*. Héroët's philosophic ideas are always uppermost in the reader's mind; Fontaine's philosophic ideas are not so easily separated from matters of lesser import.

The style of the *Parfaicte Amye* and of the *Contr'amye de Court* is in keeping with the attitude of the two poets toward the subject in hand. Héroët is grave and serene throughout; Fontaine is more free and easy, more *terre à terre*. Héroët's style is often labored and obscure,[1] Fontaine's is generally fluent and clear. That Fontaine was capable of a style as lofty and dignified as Héroët's at its best is shown by the *Épître, philosophant sur la bonne amour*.

As La Borderie found opponents in Fontaine and Héroët, Fontaine found an opponent only too eager to pen a reply to the *Contr'amye*. This unheralded champion — unheralded save by his own impudent trumpet — was Paul Angier, a native of Carentan, in Normandy. The poem in which he opposed Fontaine's views is entitled *Expérience de M. Paul Angier, Carentenois, contenant une briefve défense en la personne de l'Honneste Amant de Court contre la Contr'amye*.[2] That the youthful Paul — he was eighteen years old when he replied to Fontaine — was not lacking in presumption is evident from the fact that his *Expérience* was accompanied by a few verses addressed to " très scientifiques poètes, Marot, Saint-Gelais, Héroët, Salel, Borderie, Rabelais, Sève, Chapuy, et autres poètes " by " Paul Angier, leur humble disciple." Whether Marot, Saint-Gelais, Rabelais, Scève and the other " very scientific poets " would have been willing to acknowledge themselves the masters of Angier may be judged from the brief extracts from the *Expérience* cited below.

Angier, who dubs himself Honneste Amant, sides with La Borderie [3] against Fontaine. He takes the stand that Cupid is not the god of pure love, as Fontaine had asserted, but of foul debauchery and lechery:

[1] Mr. Tilley's estimate of the poetic worth of the *Parfaicte Amye* is correct: " . . . it is only in occasional passages that it rises to real poetry."

[2] The earliest appearance of Angier's poem seems to have been in the *Mespris de la Court* . . . Paris, Galiot du Pré, 1544.

[3] M. Gohin (p. xxxv, note 2) is of the opinion that La Borderie and Angier were one, an opinion shared by neither M. Émile Picot (*Catalogue Rothschild*, i, 545) nor M. Émile Roy (*Revue d'Hist. litt. de la France*, 1897, p. 414).

C'est qu'il [Amour] ne peut jamais me faire croyre
Qu'il soit un dieu digne de telle gloire
Comme l'a faict de Court la Contr'amie,
Mais un enfant de toute infamie . . .
la paillardise infame,
Dont Cupido est le dieu inconstant.

Angier represents himself as the object of the attacks of this degraded deity, who strives to win him over to a dissolute life. Fortunately, he has two puissant protectors, Pallas and Hymen. The latter, seeing the snares that Love is laying in the path of his *protégé*, rescues him by causing him to fall in love with a virtuous and honorable maiden "d'amour honneste, amour licite et chaste";

Et telle amour si fort luy [Hymen] agréoyt,
Si bonnement tous deux nous récréoyt
Qu'onneste amant il luy pleut me nommer,
Et la sachant aussi tant bien m'aymer,
Je l'appellay la chaste amye et rare,
De chasteté entièrement avare.

The Honneste Amant heaps a good deal of abuse on the Contr'amye's head. The following quotations will suffice to show that the humble disciple of Marot and Rabelais completely misunderstood the position taken by Fontaine's heroine. People who are like the Contr'amye, says he,

Ilz ayment mieulx une paillarde infame
Qu'avoir plaisante et amiable femme . . .
Mais seulement du terme amour abuses,
L'atribuant, et louanges infuses,
A Cupido, qui est plus tost furie
Que dieu céleste, et une pénurie
De vraye amour . . .
La Contr'amye indocte et imprudente,
De folle amour amatrice évidente.

In the opinion of the Honneste Amant, the Contr'amye is doomed to die uncourted and unloved:

Et penses tu qu'une folle et non brave
Ou une belle et prudente trop grave
Requise soit ? Nenny non. L'on la laisse

Avec sa grand gravité et noblesse,
Et d'elle aucun grand seigneur ne tient compte,
Dont en après elle meurt de grand honte.

It would be useless to consider further the *Expérience*. Angier brings nothing new into the debate, and rather detracts from its interest by introducing unnecessary obscenity and vituperation, and by constantly repeating La Borderie's views.[1]

Guillaume des Autelz sounded the proper note when he addressed the following verses to the Honneste Amant:

Tiltre d'honneur toy mesme t'es donné,
Qui n'es rien moins, en maint propos, qu'honneste:
Quant au sçavoir tu n'en es pas orné,
Et n'as rien moins que laurier sur ta teste:
Et toutesfois l'on sçait que qui s'appreste
Blasmer l'amour faict chose assez facile:
Le bien louer c'est chose difficile.
Certes d'autant la Contr'amye passe
En bon sçavoir, en doulceur, et en grâce,
Toy, le dernier des novices rimeurs,
Qui viens l'amour blasmer sans efficace:
Et après toy tous les autres blasmeurs.[2]

In another poem, Des Autelz shows his contempt for both Angier and La Borderie and his admiration for Fontaine who, in his opinion, is quite the equal of Virgil and Marot:

Lors commençay lire ta Contr'amye,
Des ennemis d'amour forte ennemie:
Où le français Marot n'eust mis tel ordre,
Ny le latin Maro n'eust seu rien mordre.
Certes quand bien je voy ta veine roide,
Je trouve trop l'Amye de Court froide:
Et m'esbay que cet Honneste Amant,
Hors de raison, forcluz de jugement,
Osa montrer sa vaine et sotte rime,
Qui a besoing encore de longue lime.
Je croy qu'il veult avoir en paragon

[1] Cf. Goujet, *Bibl. franc.*, vol. xi, p. 153: "Sa pièce est froide, sans légèreté, sans délicatesse: au lieu de raisons, il a souvent recours aux injures, et lance contre Fontaine des traits que celui-ci ne méritoit point."

[2] *Opuscules d'Amour*, Lyons, 1547, p. 236.

Ce poëtastre et Zoïle Sagon,
Qui désirant faire voir son ouvrage,
Monstra à plain comme il estoit peu sage:
Et pour avoir en ses escris bon eur,
Sans bon conseil vouloit noircir l'honneur
D'un dont le nom durera comme il dure.
Et cet Amant s'efforce faire injure
A toy, qui as par escritz mérité
D'estre loué de la postérité.
Encor (qui plus me desplaist) c'est qu'il pense
Que l'on prendra plaisir en son offense,
En invitant les plus divins espritz
De nostre temps à lire ses escritz:
Et puis il a maint terme vil et laid,
D'honneste amant indigne et de varlet.
Je croirois bien que Sangelais et Scève
Prendront plaisir en un homme qui resve:
Je croirois bien qu' Héroët et Chappuy
Daigneront lire ouvrage de celuy
Duquel la Muse est jeune, inepte et sotte:
Et toutesfois à Fontaine se frotte.
Donq en lisant l'œuvre tant gracieux
De cet Amant fol et audacieux,
D'ardent despit mon courage s'allume.[1]

Fontaine made no reply to the Honneste Amant. Des Autelz, who was thoroughly aroused by Angier's coarse attacks, generously offered to take up the cudgels for Fontaine, but he refrained from doing so upon Fontaine's advice:

A ce que quiers si response dois faire
A cet Amant de tant mauvaise affaire:
Et qui son nom trop lourdement efface,
D'avis ne suis que ta Muse la face:
Car s'il en fust en quelque sort digne,
D'autres amis de leur grâce bénigne
L'eussent jà faite: ou Le Jouvre, ou Le Sage . . .[2]
Et si tu dis qu'à l'Amie de Court
J'ay respondu: je te dy brief et court
Qu'elle a propos et grâce trop meilleure

[1] *Les Ruisseaux de Fontaine*, pp. 230–231. Des Autelz wrote under the imperfect anagram Teshault.

[2] Concerning Le Jouvre, see p. 214, below. I can find no information about Fontaine's friend Le Sage.

Que cet Amant qui pour elle labeure:
Et je voyant qu'elle estoit en hault pris,
A la response appliquay mes espritz,
Querant l'honneur qu'un poète doit querre.[1]

Angier's *Expérience* was the last of the poems that had a direct bearing on the "querelle des amies." In the dizain cited above,[2] Claude Collet mentions in connection with the debate two other poems, Almaque Papillon's *Nouvel Amour* (1543) and Gilles d'Aurigny's *Tuteur d'Amour* (1546), only because they treat of love.[3]

Beginning with La Borderie's *Amie de Court*, with its base views on love, and ending with Angier's obscene and vituperative *Expérience*, the "querelle des amies" lasted for several years.

[1] *Les Ruisseaux*, pp. 236–237.

[2] P. 79, note 1.

[3] In Papillon's *Nouvel Amour*, Love, weary of being regarded as a child and blind, and elated by the chaste love that he has caused between a king (probably Francis I) and a lady, makes known to Venus that henceforth he purposes to perform his duties without the aid of her artifices and seductions. Venus rebukes and menaces Love, and tells him that without her assistance his power will come to naught. Jupiter assembles the gods, harangues Love, and finally reconciles him with his mother, not however without approving the love of the king and the lady. — For a fuller synopsis of the *Nouvel Amour*, see Goujet, *Bibl. franç.*, vol. xi, pp. 154–156. — In the *Tuteur d'Amour*, d'Aurigny tells how, upon reaching the age when thoughts begin to turn to love, he abandons his studies and seeks to make himself agreeable in social gatherings. On all sides he hears about Eros and the torments that he inflicts on men and women. The poet decides to conquer the cruel god. The result of his effort is briefly told in the following dizain by Henri Simon, one of d'Aurigny's friends:

L'enfant Amour, tant inhumain fust il,
N'avoit onc eu du Tuteur congnoissance:
Et le Tuteur plus jeune que subtil
Ha eu vouloir de régir son enfance.
Ce qu'il ha fait est de telle prudence
Qu'il tint Amour longuement souffreteux:
Mesmes son dard flambant et dangereux
Sans estre veu fut long temps inutile:
Mais en la fin il fut si furieux
Que du Tuteur il en feit un pupille.
(*Le Tuteur d'Amour*, Lyons, 1547, p. 6.)

For a more complete analysis of d'Aurigny's poem, see Goujet, *Bibl. franç.*, vol. xi, pp. 167 ff. For other poems inspired by the poems of the "querelle des amies," see Gohin, p. xxxiii, and p. xxxvi, note 1.

Between La Borderie's interesting poem and Angier's bungle were Fontaine's *Contr'amye de Court* and Héroët's *Parfaicte Amye*, both written in defense of pure and honorable love of an unmistakably Platonic nature. Judged by a modern standard, in so far as individual merit is concerned, perhaps the *Parfaicte Amye* should be ranked first, the *Contr'amye de Court* second, the *Amie de Court* third, and the *Expérience* last. The readers of the sixteenth century, however, were not so exacting; the efforts of all the participants in the debate were warmly received, according to the following passage from Guillaume Colletet's manuscript: " . . . les imprimeurs n'en firent qu'un seul volume qu'ils réimprimèrent une infinité de fois, et qui passa longtemps pour le modèle des courtisans et pour les délices des dames de la cour du roi François Ier." [1]

[1] Colletet, *Vies des poètes françois*, fol. 82.

CHAPTER VI

A TIME OF TROUBLE

Fontaine weds Flora. — Their children. — *Estreines à certains seigneurs et dames de Lyon.* — *Épitomé des trois premiers livres de Artemidorus, ancien autheur, traictant des songes.* — *Épitomé des cinq livres d'Artémidore.* — Lawsuit. — Journey to Paris. — Poverty. — Fontaine the proof-reader. — Editor of the *Œuvres de Clément Marot.* — *Promptuaire des médalles.*

MARGUERITE CARME, Charles Fontaine's first wife, died at some time prior to February, 1544. Fontaine makes no mention of her death, and this fact tends to prove, as has been conjectured in a previous chapter, that it was not with her that he put into practice his lofty ideas on love.

In February, 1544, Fontaine married a young woman named Fleurie, or Flora, a native of the village of Chaponost.[1] In a short poem, *L'Auteur fait mention de ses secondes nopces*,[2] which Goujet found as frigid as the month in which the poet was married, Maître Charles gives the date of his nuptials and adds that his love for Marguerite Carme is on the wane:

L'an mil cinq cens quarante quatre,
Au court moys (qui or long sera,
Et sa rigueur délaissera)
Fut pour en bonne amour s'ébatre
Lié Fontaine avec Flora:
Car trop flétrissant demoura
Sa Marguerite (amour première):
Donc au printemps s'enamoura
De Flora, florissant, non fière.

[1] Fontaine honored Chaponost, which is situated a few kilometers south of Lyons, with the following quatrain:

Chaponnot, lieu hault et non maigre,
Où ma Flora fut verdissant,
Tu sois tousjours sain et allaigre,
Et mieux que Tempé florissant.
(*Les Ruisseaux*, p. 187: *A la bourgade de Chaponnot, au Lyonnois, lieu natal de sa Fleurie, ou Flora.*)

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 102.

It was in his second wife that Fontaine found his affinity. To her he addressed scores of poems, all of which breathe the most profound respect and love. The following lines, for instance, extol some of her rare qualities:

Ton port droit et ta belle allure
Avec naturelle allégresse,
Ton corps, qui de taille et mesure
Se jette en moyenne hautesse,
Qui me passe ou qui me mesure,
Ton maintien, qui me sent son bien,
Sont tes dons que chacun voit bien:
Mais ton bon sens, joint à l'usage,
Mais ton peu de parolle sage,
Qui s'égale avec ta prudence,
Ton prévoir et ton hault courage
Ne sont à tous en évidence.[1]

Another short poem will suffice to show Fontaine's love for Flora:

Ta vertu et honnesteté
T'ont fait de fille estre ma femme,
Et l'espoir de ta chasteté,
Qui l'honneur jamais ne diffame,
Fait que je t'ayme corps et âme
Plus cher que mon œil et ma vie:
Aymant l'honneur, tu fuis le blasme,
Car la vertu tu as suyvie.[2]

The union of Fontaine and Flora was very fruitful. Eight children — six sons and two daughters — were born to them: a daughter who died at her birth, Gaspard, Françoise, Jean, René, Sébastien, Charles, and Jacques. In an ode inscribed to Fontaine, Bonaventure du Tronchet declares that this numerous progeny is one of Heaven's blessings on the father:

[1] *Les Ruisseaux*, p. 85. — Flora, like Marguerite, was a brunette:

Puis y venoit Florie, ma brunette.

(*Ibid.*, p. 192.)

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 111. — This marriage, so satisfactory to both parties, was opposed either before or after it was contracted, by whom and on what grounds it is impossible to say. Among commonplaces relating to his marriage, Fontaine says:

Bien qu'on cuidoit rompre cette alliance,
Laquelle au ciel écrite on trouvera.

(*Ibid.*, p. 110.)

Aussi les cieux l'ont fortuné,
Et se montrans larges donneurs,
De beaux enfans luy ont donné,
Des enfans qui font ses honneurs.[1]

Du Tronchet was not wholly in error. Fontaine's children brought him honor, but in an indirect way. Some of his most touching verses were addressed to them, generally at their birth or death. To Françoise he penned these lines, filled with paternal love and joy:

Parisienne et Lyonnoise,
De nom et nation françoise,
Ma seule fillette en ce monde,
Dont la charge tant peu me poise,
Quand tu te ris je me dégoise,
Quand tu gasoilles je me fonde
Rentrer en jeunesse profonde:
Dieu te doint bon esprit sans noise,
Comme on lit en ta face blonde
Douceur, bon eur, grâce et faconde,
Autant qu'en dame ou en bourgeoise.[2]

The following poem, *Chant sur la naissance de Jan, second filz de l'auteur*, the only one of Fontaine's poems ever reproduced in French anthologies, is usually regarded as his best:

Mon petit filz qui n'as encor rien veu,
A ce matin ton père te salue:
Vien t'en, vien voir ce monde bien pourveu
D'honneurs et biens qui sont de grant value:
Vien voir la paix en France descendue:
Vien voir François, nostre Roy et le tien,
Qui a la France ornée et deffendue:
Vien voir le monde où y a tant de bien.

Vien voir le monde où y a tant de maux:
Vien voir ton père en procès et en peine:
Vien voir ta mère en douleurs et travaux
Plus grands que quand elle estoit de toy pleine:
Vien voir ta mère à qui n'as laissé veine
En bon repos: vien voir ton père aussi,
Qui a passé sa jeunesse soudaine,
Et à trente ans est en peine et souci.

[1] *Les Ruisseaux*, p. 337.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 92: *A Françoyse Fontaine, petite fille de l'auteur.*

Jan, petit Jan, vien voir ce tant beau monde,
Ce ciel d'azur, ces estoilles luisantes,
Ce soleil d'or, cette grand terre ronde,
Cette ample mer, ces rivières bruyantes,
Ce bel air vague, et ces nues courantes,
Ces beaux oyseaux qui chantent à plaisir,
Ces poissons frais et ces bestes paissantes:
Vien voir le tout à souhait et désir.

Vien voir le tout sans désir et souhait:
Vien voir le monde en divers troublemens:
Vien voir le ciel qui jà la terre hait:
Vien voir combat entre les élémens:
Vien voir l'air plein de rudes soufflemens,
De dure gresle et d'horribles tonnerres:
Vien voir la terre en peine et tremblemens:
Vien voir la mer noyant villes et terres.

Enfant petit, petit et bel enfant,
Masle bien fait, chef d'œuvre de ton père,
Enfant petit en beauté triomphant,
La grand liesse et joye de ta mère,
Le ris, l'esbat de ma jeune commère,
Et de ton père aussi certainement
Le grand espoir et l'attente prospère,
Tu sois venu au monde eureusement.

Petit enfant, peux tu le bien venu
Estre sur terre, où tu n'apportes rien,
Mais où tu viens comme un petit ver nu ?
Tu n'as ne drap ne linge qui soit tien,
Or, ny argent, n'aucun bien terrien:
A père et mère apportes seulement
Peine et souci: et voilà tout ton bien:
Petit enfant tu viens bien povrement.

De ton honneur ne vueil plus estre chiche:
Petit enfant de grand bien jouissant,
Tu viens au monde aussi grand, aussi riche
Comme le Roy, et aussi florissant:
Ton trésorier c'est Dieu le tout puissant,
Grâce divine est ta mère nourrice,
Ton héritage est le ciel splendissant,
Tes serviteurs sont les anges sans vice.[1]

[1] *Les Ruisseaux*, p. 55. Concerning Jean, the only one of Fontaine's children who published anything, see Appendix.

Another poem, *Élégie seur le trespas de René, cinquiesme enfant et tiers filz de l'auteur*, is also of considerable merit:

Dieu te gard donc, mon petit filz René,
A Dieu mon filz aussi tost mort que né:
Dieu gard mon filz venant sur terre ronde,
A Dieu mon filz départant de ce monde.
Tu n'as encor le laict bien savouré,
Tu n'as encor le tien père honoré,
Ne seu que c'est de maux et de liesses,
Que loing de nous tu t'en vas et nous laisses.
Tu n'as encor une seule sepmaine,
Que tu dépars de ceste vie humaine.
Pourquoy fais tu ton dernier partement
Si tost après le tien enfantement ?
Petit enfant, qui t'a donné envie
De si soudain aller en l'autre vie ?
Il semble à voir que tu cogneusses bien
Qu'en ceste vie y a petit de bien,
Donc as choisi les grans joyes célestes
Pour de ce monde éviter les molestes.
Petit enfant, je croy bien que tu as
Un autre père au ciel, là où tu vas,
Lequel a fait que ton cœur le désire,
Quand le charnel laisses pour l'autre élire.
Petit enfant, qui n'as guères teté,
Je ne croy point que tu n'eusses gousté
Du laict céleste au moins deux ou trois gouttes,
Quand tu t'en vas afin que plus en goustes.
Puis que tu veux l'éternel bien choisir,
Laissé m'en as un merveilleux désir.
O mon enfant, qui as vie tant briève,
La mienne, estant moyenne, m'est jà griève:
Et si te dy qu'à l'exemple de toy
Me tarde bien que mon Dieu je ne voy.[1]

[1] *Les Ruisseaux*, p. 53. Compare a Latin poem by Jean de Boyssonné on the death of Rabelais's son: *Ad Theodulum Rabaloesum, puerum bimulum morientem.* Translation: "Pourquoi, petit Rabelais, nous quitter sitôt ? Ne veux-tu pas goûter les joies de la vie ? Pourquoi pars-tu avant la tendre jeunesse ? Pourquoi vas-tu périr d'une mort prématurée ? " To which the child replies: " Je ne meurs pas en haine de la vie; mais pour ne pas mourir à chaque instant. Je veux, Boyssonné, vivre avec le Christ, c'est la seule vie qui ait du prix " (François Mugnier, *La Vie et les poésies de Jean de Boyssonné*, Paris, 1897, pp. 412–413). Théodule died about 1541.

A short time before the composition of the elegy on the death of René, Fontaine published two books — a volume of verse and a prose translation.[1] The volume of verse bears the following title: *Estreines à certains seigneurs et dames de Lyon . . . A quoy est adjousté un chant nuptial de l'autheur, faict et présenté pour les nopces de Monsieur le Conseiller Torvéon et Madame Magdeleine du Peyrat. Ensemble une éclogue pastorale sur les nopces de l'autheur, à luy addressée et faicte par un sien amy, poète et advocat de Paris.*[2] The *estreines* are execrable.[3] The same is true of the *chant nuptial* in honor of the marriage of Torvéon. Like some of Fontaine's other works, the *Estreines* is of value only as a historical document.[4]

The translation published by Fontaine, which comprises three of the five books of Artemidorus's *Ὀνειροκριτικά*, is entitled *Épitomé des trois premiers livres de Artemidorus, ancien autheur, traictant des songes.*[5] It is worthy of attention, not because of the merit of the work translated, but because of the curious

[1] The *Fontaine d'amour* (1545), which was also published about this time, will be discussed in chapter VIII.

[2] Jean de Tournes, Lyons, 1546. Denys Sauvage composed the *éclogue pastorale* (cf. p. 54, above).

[3] The *estreines* consist mainly of puns on the names of the persons addressed. For example, Barthélemy Aneau, one of the most important men of the French Renaissance, is honored thus:

> L'anneau que l'on met à la joincte
> N'est point tant uny à moytié
> Comme est (Amy) ton amytié
> A tes amys unie et joincte.

Fontaine was evidently aware of the mediocrity of the collection. To the reader he says:

> Si le mien stile ne te plaît,
> N'en ly qu'un quatrain seulement:
> Là feras fin facilement.
> Si tu fais fin ne m'en desplaît.

[4] For a complete list of the persons addressed in the *Estreines*, see Bibliography, A, no. 6.

[5] Jean de Tournes, Lyons, 1546. — Artemidorus Daldianus lived in the second century. His work on the interpretation of dreams is quite like the dream books of the present day.

ideas to be found in the prefaces and epistles that Fontaine inserted in the volume.[1]

The dedicatory epistle[2] "à quelque personnage d'authorité," whom Fontaine had known in Italy, opens with a reference to several works which Fontaine lost during his travels, his illnesses, and his business cares. Maître Charles explains that he intends to make only an epitome of a portion of the *Ὀνειροκριτικά*, and that he has expunged any parts of the original that seemed unsuitable, superfluous, or antiquated.[3] He then begins a discourse on dreams, their connection with the events of life, and the trust that may be put in them as prognostications. It will be observed that he was a firm believer in dream interpretation, and that he adduces many proofs to uphold his belief.[4]

In the first place, he observes, the superior beings in this world, "ou plustost Dieu mesmes," have complete control over the inferior beings, and it is more than likely that dreams are intended by God to impart to man information that could not be

[1] In the dedicatory epistle Fontaine says that he made his translation of Artemidorus not from the Greek, but from a Latin translation "par un sçavant médecin et philosophe." This physician and philosopher was Johann Hagenbut, called Cornarius (1500–1558), editions of whose Latin translation of Artemidorus were published at Bâle in 1539 and 1544, and at Lyons in 1546.

[2] Cf. Colletet, *Vies des poètes françois:* "Il ne se peut guère rien voir de plus beau ni de plus curieux à savoir que son épître liminaire, qui est en effet un docte discours de la cause et de la nature des songes . . . L'épître n'est pas un frontispice indigne de ce superbe palais du dieu de sommeil Morphée."

[3] "Je vous avois dernièrement promis de rechercher mon Translat de Duel, autrement combat, que je fey estant avec vous à Thurin, à fin que, l'ayant reveu, le feisse imprimer avec l'épistre liminaire adressant à vous: mais après avoir diligemment tourné et reviré mes livres et copies ne l'ay oncques peu trouver, dont j'ay esté bien fâché. Comme ce n'est le premier de mes labeurs que j'ay perdu entre tant d'allées et de venues, tant de maladies et d'affaires. Or ce nonobstant, dès lors je pensay de vous faire présent d'un autre translat que je ferois tout de nouveau, à fin que par ce congnoissiez la persévérance de mon vouloir envers vous. . . Car ce que j'ay veu qui ne convenoit à nostre temps, et qui n'estoit nécessaire, je l'ay laissé: ainsi que sont plusieurs superstitions des payens qui seroient ridicules à présent." — In a passage that follows Fontaine mentions a work, "mon Translat de la Chiromance," of which no trace can now be found.

[4] Concerning credulity in the sixteenth century, see Philarète Chasles, *Nostradamus et ses commentateurs*, in *Études sur le seizième siècle en France*, pp. 325 ff.

obtained otherwise, for it must be remembered that God and nature do nothing without a cause. After a few remarks on Artemidorus, he sets forth further reasons why he has faith in dreams and also in Artemidorus. While in Italy he dreamed of divers matters connected with his personal affairs, and upon his return to France, he found the outcome just as Artemidorus promised.[1] He cites Ovid, Cato, and Plato's *Republic* in support of some of his statements, and then mentions a number of celebrated dreamers: in the Bible the two Josephs are noteworthy, "Joseph, filz de Jacob, Joseph, espoux de la vierge Marie;" in the "histoires humaines" no less remarkable examples may be cited: the mother of Virgil dreamed of a laurel tree; the mother of Paris dreamed that she gave birth to a firebrand which set fire to the entire country; in a dream Socrates saw a flying swan, and on the following day Plato arrived; and, in addition, Astyages, Philip of Macedon, Cicero, Hannibal, Calpurnia, Scipio, and many others might be mentioned. Not to believe what these renowned men and women have declared to be true, says Maître Charles, would be doing an injustice "à l'esprit de l'homme, qui est . . . le miroir des choses divines: en le faisant tousjours et du tout inutil, vagabond, vain et oysif, quand le corps repose."[2] The dedicatory epistle closes with a compliment to Francis I.

A passage in the preface to the second book will serve to give an idea of Fontaine's reverence for the writers of antiquity:

> Ayant tousjours esgard que sans grande nécessité je n'emprunterois rien des anciens. Et ne délaissant aucune chose qui vient au propos, sinon qu'il y eust telle chose qui eust esté bien traictée et doctement par les anciens, au moyen de quoy n'estoit besoing que j'en traictasse. A fin qu'en leur voulant contredire, je ne fusse contraint de mentir. Ou en disant comme eulx, je semblasse vouloir empescher leurs œuvres et labeurs de venir en congnoissance.[3]

[1] "J'ay mémoire de avoir songé estant avecques vous delà les montz, depuis aussi à Ferrare et à Venise, certains songes concernans mes affaires," etc.

[2] Concerning physicians, Fontaine says: "Les médecins aussi font cas des songes, car par iceulx jugent et cognoissent quelquefois la qualité et quantité des humeurs qui dominent, la source et cause, briefveté et longueur des maladies."

[3] Fontaine says that in his study of the literature dealing with dreams he has

In an epistle addressed to his cousin Jean Bureau, Fontaine cites a specific case in which Artemidorus was of assistance to him:

> Plus de quatre et cinq moys devant que ma Fleurie m'eust faict mon filz Gaspard, qui est seul et premier d'elle et de moy, j'ay . . . songé que je voyais un arbre de meurier portant les meures.

Artemidorus says:

> Un meurier droit et portant fruict, c'est génération et lignée . . . Je pensois que Dieu me feroit la grâce d'avoir de ma femme qui estoit enceinte enfant qui vivroit, et non pas comme ma fille qui mourut à sa naissance.

Fontaine's epitome of the first three books of Artemidorus's dream book had a decided success. The edition found so great favor with the public that in 1554 Fontaine and his friends found it impossible to secure a single copy. This dearth of copies, together with the fact that a Parisian printer (Jeanne de Marnef, 1547) had foisted upon the public a defective edition, led Fontaine to entrust to his friend Jean de Tournes the publication of a new edition. To meet the demand for such literature, he added an epitome of the two remaining books of the *Ὀνειροκριτικά*, and also an epitome of a treatise on dreams by Valerius Maximus.[1]

examined the writings of the authors of Greece, Asia, Italy, and "les Isles fameuses et peuplées." — In an epistle inscribed to "monsieur maistre François Verius, chanoine de Mascon," he explains as follows why he undertook the translation of the second book of Artemidorus: "Tu [Verius] m'as incité grandement avec maistre Antoine du Moulin, maistre Claude du Four, et maistre Odoart le Verrier et autres, à fin que je poursuyvisse ceste traduction et épitomé, ayans sceu que j'avois jà faict l'épitomé et traduction du premier livre." In the same epistle he tells Verius that scoffers cannot prevent him from being a dreamer and a believer in dreams: "Et ne m'estonne point leur blason et mocquerie, car je suis content d'estre mocqué et estimé resveur ou songeur avec le gentil petit Joseph, filz de Jacob."

[1] Most of these facts are set forth in an epistle to Jean Gravier, secretary of the city of Lyons. In the same epistle Fontaine compliments a contemporary author of a Latin treatise on dreams: "Encores depuis mon épitomé des trois premiers livres, Oger Ferrier, médecin de Toulouze, ha fait un traité des songes en latin fort bien couché et déduit: et lequel ha esté imprimé par le mesme imprimeur, Jan de Tournes, avec encor autres certeins petis traitez beaus et excellens, faits par divers auteurs, à savoir Hippocrate, Galien, et Synèse, traitans de mesme matière, que j'ay esté quelquefois en fantasie de traduire de latin en françois."

The success of the *Épitomé des cinq livres d'Artémidore* was remarkable. It was published separately four times, and seven times in the same volume with *Augustinus Niphus, Des Augures ou divinations, traduict par maistre Antoine du Moulin, Masconnois.*[1] The widespread popularity of dream books in France in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is attested by the fact that these editions were published in Lyons, Rouen, Paris, and Troyes.[2]

About the time of the publication of the *Épitomé des trois premiers livres de Artemidorus*, Fontaine became involved in the lawsuit of which he makes mention in the poem in honor of the birth of his son Jean. In an epistle to Guillaume des Autelz, he says that the origin of the suit was connected in some way with the death of his first wife, Marguerite Carme:

> Je pensois bien, pour raison du procès
> Que tu as sceu que j'ay par le décès
> De feu ma femme, à Paris voyager.[3]

The case was tried first at Lyons, where, thanks to the efforts of Fontaine's attorney, M. Guillot, a decision was rendered in favor of Fontaine.[4] His opponents, however, were not satisfied with this decision, and appealed to the Parliament of Paris. Fontaine made preparations to go to the capital to defend his interests:

[1] Concerning this work, and also concerning Fontaine's friend Antoine du Moulin, see an article by A. Cartier and A. Chenevière in the *Revue d'Hist. litt. de la France*, 1895, p. 469, and 1896, pp. 90 and 218. The first edition of Agostino Nifo's *De Auguriis libri duo* was published at Bologna in 1531.

[2] The first edition was published in 1555, the last in 1664. — That Guillaume des Autelz appreciated Fontaine's epitome of Artemidorus is shown by a poem, *A Charles Fontaine, d'un songe*, which begins as follows:

> Est donc ce songe un céleste message
> (O toy qui as l'âme d'Artémidore)
> M'avertissant que pour voir ma Pandore
> Infortuné me sera ce voyage ?
> (*Amoureux repos de Guillaume des Autelz*, Lyons, 1553, fol. B vii.)

[3] *Les Ruisseaux*, p. 235.

[4] *Estreines*, p. 8: *L'Autheur à M. Guillot, son advocat.*

Ores je suis sur point de partement,
Pour saluer le hautain Parlement,
Duquel l'arrest j'espère et je désire
Dedans le mars: mais qu'il ne me soit pire
Que la sentence a esté par deçà,
Que le conseil à mon profit dressa.[1]

Upon setting out for Paris, Fontaine penned an adieu to Lyons, his friends, his wife and child:

Adieu Lyon, la clef de France,
Abondant en toute plaisance:
Adieu Lyon, dont je dépars:
Adieu amis de toutes pars.
Adieu mon seul filz et sa mère:
Priez à Dieu qui gard le père.
Adieu les dames de Lyon,
Et des atours un milion . . .
Adieu le Rosne, adieu la Saône,
Qu'eussiez vous le sable d'or jaune
Comme le beau fleuve Tagus.
Adieu les yeux fins et agus,
Adieu les beaux tetins ouvers,
Adieu les colz tous descouvers:
Adieu veloux et fine soye,
Adieu jusques je te revoye . . .[2]

Upon his arrival in Paris, Maître Charles greeted the city with a *Dieu gard* which contains many interesting details relating to himself and especially to Paris. It will be observed that he had a deep affection for the bustling city — "the great paradise of women," — for the Ville, the Université, and the Cité. As a pleader, he saw fit to pay his compliments to Parliament, the protector of the oppressed:

Dieu gard Paris, le chef de France,
Qui est le lieu de ma naissance:
Dieu gard Paris, puis que ma veuë
Depuis sept ans ne l'avoit veuë . . .
Dieu gard Paris, en communs dictz,

[1] *Les Ruisseaux*, p. 235: epistle to Des Autelz.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 61: *L'Adieu à ladite ville, où l'auteur avoit prins femme, et pour un sien procès s'en alloit à Paris l'an 1547.*

Des femmes le grant paradis.
Dieu gard Paris, entre dix mille
La grande, longue et large ville.
Dieu gard le plus hault Parlement,
Jugeant tant équitablement
Qu'il est par sus tout autre juge,
Des oppressez le vray refuge.
Dieu gard la ville et la cité,
Et la haulte université,
Vray mont d'Hélicon, où les Muses
Sont copieuses et diffuses,
Où maint bon esprit me semond . . .
Dieu gard les pontz: Dieu gard encore
Les longs fauxbourgs près des villages:
Dieu gard les beaux grans héritages.
Dieu gard sainct Denis et Montmartre:
Et de sainct Valeri le tertre . . .
O quel desplaisir mon cœur sent
Que je ne puis dire à présent
Dieu gard mon père avec ma mère,
Dieu gard ma sœur, Dieu gard mon frère . . .[1]
Dieu gard la rivière bien pleine,
C'est à savoir la belle Seine . . .
Dieu gard de plus grande ruine
Le pont sainct Michel qui décline.
Dieu me gard de beaucoup troter,
Je pourrois bien trop me croter:
Dieu me gard que mon long procès
Voye deux foys sol en Pisces.[2]

Once settled in Paris, Fontaine strove to win the favor of the legal fraternity. To registrars, lawyers, and magistrates he addressed a great number of flattering verses, very few of which have a direct bearing on his lawsuit.[3] Upon learning that a magistrate named De Gouy was to judge his case, he wrote:

Si l'équité est la fille de Dieu,
Et l'équité en ma cause est aperte,
Dieu est pour moy en ce temps et ce lieu:
S'il est pour moy, je ne viendray à perte:
Car ta science à juger bien experte,

[1] Fontaine makes no other mention of his brother.
[2] *Les Ruisseaux*, p. 62. [3] *Ibid.*, *passim*.

Et conscience au droit point immobile,
Voyant ma cause en l'équité ouverte,
N'iroyent jamais contre Dieu et sa fille.[1]

Maître Charles also had a word of praise for Eustache de la Porte, "conseiller au Parlement de Paris, quand le procès de l'auteur luy fut distribué pour rapporter." [2]

A quatrain addressed some seven years later to Eustache de la Porte seems to indicate that the verdict of the Parliament of Paris was in Fontaine's favor:

Dieu gard la Porte toute ouverte,
Qui en un pas fort difficile
Me tira hors de peine et perte,
Me montrant la voye facile.[3]

Fontaine's lawsuit bears eloquent testimony to the law's delay in the sixteenth century. The caricatures drawn by writers of the time may not seem so exaggerated when it is known that Maître Charles, surely a sufficiently needy litigant to be granted a speedy trial, was forced to remain in Paris at least six months before his case was brought to a close. Naturally, he was not pleased with such dilatory methods; he longed to return to his wife:

Dedans Paris six moys tardant,
Je suys sans toy et avec moy:
Dedans Lyon en m'attendant,
Tu es sans moy et avec toy.[4]

[1] *Les Ruisseaux*, p. 105: *Au Président De Couy.*

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 119.

[3] *Les Nouvelles et antiques merveilles: Ode pour Dieu gard à la ville de Paris.* An epigram inscribed later to Eustache de la Porte shows, however, that the verdict at Paris did not end the suit:

Je suis entré dedans un labirynte
Long et fâcheux, dont je ne puis sortir . . .
Et en neuf ans onq je n'ay peu partir
Du labirynte obscur et difficile.
(*Les Ruisseaux*, p. 120.)

[4] *Les Ruisseaux*, p. 117. — It is likely that Fontaine, who was as true a friend as he was a faithful husband and father, suffered a painful humiliation at the time when poverty and legal proceedings were harassing him. If the following dizain

After his return from Paris to Lyons, Fontaine was reduced to great financial straits. His lawsuit and the support of his constantly increasing family seem to have consumed his entire savings. His income from his literary productions was not sufficient to meet the needs of life. In an epistle to a friend, Gabriel Tamot, he says that his career has not been lucrative:

> Mais poésie affamée et en friche
> N'a, ce dis tu, point fait ta maison riche:
> Aussi n'a elle encore fait à moy:
> Et ce seul point ne me met en esmoy,
> Car le désir d'un poète n'attend
> Avoir richesse, où tout autre estat tend.[1]

In a poem addressed to a detractor, Fontaine repeats that poetry has not made him rich, and also tells what became of a part of his patrimony:

> Tu dis ma Muse sans esprit,
> Puis que ne s'est peu faire riche:
> Mon bien paternel elle prit,
> Qu'elle mit en partie en friche:
> Et d'autre part je ne fus chiche
> Ny à parens, ny à amis,
> Ny mesmes à mes ennemis:
> J'ay toutesfois, et sauf ta grâce,
> Plus que toy, ny toute ta race
> Obscure, incongnue à tousjours,
> J'ay un bien qui tous les biens passe,
> Et qui croistra après mes jours.[2]

may be considered as applying to the author's own case, it is evident that his friends of better days turned their backs on him in his adversity:

> Quand on est en autorité,
> Rempli d'honneur et de richesse,
> Tant d'amis de prospérité
> Nous font compaignie et caresse:
> Mais si tost que richesse cesse,
> Et que fortune nous ameine
> Prison, procès, povreté, peine,
> Et tous maux sus nous manifeste,
> O que c'est très mauvaise alaine:
> Chacun nous fuit comme la peste.
> (*Les Ruisseaux*, p. 106.)

The word "prison" is suggestive.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 273. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 80.

In Fontaine's works there is considerable evidence not only that he did not grow rich in his profession, but that on the contrary he sounded the depths of the direst poverty. In a huitain addressed to the Baron de l'Espinasse he pictures himself rambling through the Baron's library and deriving great joy from the treasures contained therein. Then follows the regret that he cannot have books through lack of money:

Revisitant vostre grand librairie
(Seigneur baron) mon esprit eut grand joye:
Mais puis après, entrant en fâcherie,
Il commença cheminer autre voye:
Et c'est pourtant que fortune convoye
Mon esprit prompt d'un regard de travers,
Et que ne puis, par faulte de monnoye,
Livres avoir, soit en prose ou en vers.[1]

In an *Éclogue marine*, an extremely melancholy poem, Maître Charles revealed the fact that his financial condition was such that he felt it necessary to call upon the king for assistance, and that in case the king refused his plea, death alone could cure his ills.[2]

When Fontaine finally became convinced that it was impossible to make both ends meet with his pen, he decided to engage in another pursuit — a pursuit that carried with it a fixed stipend and did not depend entirely on the whims of the public.[3] The printing and publishing trade attracted him. Many of his friends

[1] *Les Ruisseaux*, p. 72. — Although Fontaine could not afford to buy books for himself, he managed to get them when it was a question of making gifts:

Moy povret, aux gens de sçavoir
J'ay bien donné deux fois cent livres,
N'espargnant mon petit avoir,
Mon pouvoir, mes vivres, mes livres.
(*Les Sentences du poëte Ausone*, p. 60.)

[2] A summary of the *Éclogue marine* is given on p. 193, below. — M. Lucien Baudrier very kindly sent me the following note concerning Fontaine's financial condition: " Si l'on en juge par le chiffre minimum auquel il a été imposé dans une taxe, dont malheureusement je n'ai pas conservé la cote, Charles Fontaine devait être dans une situation pécuniaire des plus modestes."

[3] Fontaine published nothing between the years 1546 and 1552.

were successful printers, publishers, and booksellers. Scattered throughout his works are numerous poems in honor of Thibaud Payen, Guillaume Roville or Rouillé, Philibert Rollet, Jean Citoys, Sébastien Gryphe, and Jean de Tournes. The last named, perhaps the most renowned of Lyonese printers, Maître Charles especially admired:

> Tout ton faict si bien tu atournes
> En ton art, et d'un esprit meur,
> Que si voulois estre imprimeur,
> Je vouldrois estre Jean de Tournes.[1]

Fontaine had great admiration for printing as an art and as a means of dissipating the shades of ignorance:

> Si aux sçavants on doit porter honneur,
> On doit porter honneur à vous [imprimeurs] aussi,
> Qui aportez au monde ce bon heur,
> Que le sçavoir est par vous esclarcy,
> Lequel sans vous est obscur et noircy:
> Vous l'avancez et luy donnez son lustre.
> Parquoy de vous je doy chanter icy,
> O gens heureux! O art noble et illustre![2]

Thanks to a discovery made by Président Baudrier, there is documentary evidence that Fontaine entered the printing trade as a proof-reader. The essential part of the document in question, the interest of which is enhanced somewhat by a mention of two of Marguerite Carme's brothers, is reproduced below as published by Baudrier:[3]

23 avril 1549. Vente faite par *Charles Fontaine, prélecteur d'imprymerie, à Lyon,* héritier universel de feue Marguerite Carme, sa feue femme, et curateur de Aymé Carme, frère de ladicte Marguerite, d'une part, et Me Jehan Bureau,[4] notaire, habitant de Tournus en Masconoys, aiant droict de trans-

[1] *Estreines*, p. 14: *A Jean de Tournes, maistre imprimeur.*

[2] *La Fontaine d'amour: Aux Compaignons imprimeurs de la ville de Paris.*

[3] The document is entitled "Réquisition d'une pension annuelle, foncière, et perpétuelle de 25 livres pour dame Fleurie Mayaulde, femme d'Ennemond Polier, procureur ès cours de Lyon." The entire document covers a half-dozen folio pages, and is an excellent example of legal jargon.

[4] Fontaine's cousin.

port, en ceste partie, de Jacques Carme, frère desdits Aymé et Marguerite Carme, d'autre part . . . pour survenir à leurs affaires et poursuyvre l'éxécution de certains arrestz deffinitifs, par eulx obtenu ausdits noms, à l'encontre de feu Me Jehan Mulot, héritier de Anne Grand, sa mère, et de Pernette Bonnepain comme tutrice de Magdelleine Gaulvain, sa fille, aussi pour eulx acquitter de la somme de cent escuz d'or au soleil, en laquelle lesdits Fontaine et Bureau seroient tenus et obligés à dame Fleurie Mayaulde,[1] femme de Me Annemond Polier, procureur ès cours dudit Lyon, d'une pension annuelle, foncière et perpétuelle cédée ausdits Fontaine et Bureau par Me Jehan Musselier, tuteur de lad. Magdelleyne Gaulvain, sur une tierce partie de maison indivise et assize audit Lyon en la grand rue Saint-Jehan.[2]

In 1549 Maître Charles entered the service of the learned Guillaume Roville, one of the most famous publishers of the French Renaissance.[3] An edition of the works of Clément Marot and a translation into French of a Latin encyclopaedic compilation by Roville show that Fontaine performed his duties in a satisfactory and conscientious manner.

During the decade that followed the printing of the *Œuvres* of Marot by Sébastien Gryphe (1538), scarcely a year passed without the appearance of a new edition of Marot's works. At Lyons, Jean de Tournes and François Juste, and at Paris, Gilles Corrozet, Guillaume Thiboust, Jean Ruelle, and others published

[1] Not Florie-Marie Jaulde, as Baudrier reads.

[2] *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, 3e série, p. 93. Concerning Fontaine's employers, M. Baudrier says (9e série, p. 30): " Bien que spécialement attaché à l'atelier de Payen, éditeur moins lettré que ses savants confrères, incapable de corriger lui-même toutes ses productions, Fontaine travailla, en même temps, pour plusieurs ateliers. S. Gryphius, Th. Payen, Pierre de Tours, Jean de Tournes restent muets sur ses bons offices."

[3] Nearly all the *neuvième série* of the *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, a volume of five hundred pages, is devoted to Guillaume Roville. — After citing seven quatrains addressed by Fontaine to Roville, S. Gryphe, Benoist Montaudoyn, T. Payen, J. de Tournes, P. Rollet, and Guillaume Phylledier, M. Baudrier says (*ibid.*, 9e série, p. 29): " Ces quatrains précisent le cercle des relations du correcteur d'imprimerie Charles Fontaine avec les éditeurs et les imprimeurs en exercice à cette date. Quelques minimes que soient ses attaches à Rouillé, elles n'en sont pas moins intéressantes à constater. S. Gryphius et J. de Tournes furent ses rivaux et ses émules, Th. Payen un de ses premiers associés, Philibert Rollet un de ses imprimeurs préférés." — Fontaine's close friend, Denys Sauvage, was also employed by Roville as a " correcteur d'imprimerie " (*ibid.*, 9e série, p. 182).

volumes of Maître Clément's verse which are now dear to the hearts of bibliophiles. Not to be outdone by his competitors, Guillaume Roville published in 1546 an edition of Marot. He did not adorn the title page of his edition with the phrases used by his predecessors, such as "bien augmentées," "mieulx ordonnées que par cy devant," "avec plusieurs autres compositions non jamais encore imprimées," and his reason for not doing so is obvious: as the first part of his edition he merely reproduced the volume published in 1544 "A Lyon, à l'enseigne du Rocher";[1] he added an eclogue on the death of the Dauphin, a panegyric in honor of Monseigneur d'Anguyen, Marot's translations, and the *Enfer*, and his volume was complete.[2]

This edition, with its two reprints, must have proved successful, since in 1550 Roville published a fourth edition of Marot's works: *Les Œuvres de Clément Marot, de Cahors, vallet de chambre du Roy, reveues et augmentées de nouveau.*[3] This time Roville was not so modest; his fourth edition was revised, augmented, and in other ways made more valuable than the first. In an interesting notice to the reader, he gives the editor credit for most of the changes in the new edition. With true Renaissance spirit, however, he does not make known the editor's name, but any doubts as to whom he has in mind are dispelled when we read on the reverse of the title page a huitain, *A la louange des œuvres de Clément Marot*, signed with Charles Fontaine's well-known anagram, *Hante le François*.

[1] Cf. E. Picot, *Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque Rothschild*, vol. i, no. 609; Baudrier, 9e série, p. 129. — In 1544 Antoine Constantin, "demeurant à l'enseigne du Rocher," and Guillaume Roville entered into a partnership, which seems not to have continued beyond 1549. Constantin's name does not appear in Roville's 1546 edition of Marot's works.

[2] The same edition, with slight modifications, was also published by Roville with 1547 as the date of the first part, and 1546 as that of the second part. In the first part of this edition even the preface of the 1544 "Rocher" edition is reproduced. See Picot, vol. i, no. 612; Baudrier, 9e série, p. 138. A third edition was published by Roville in 1548. See Baudrier, 9e série, p. 146.

[3] Baudrier, 9e série, p. 179. This edition was republished several times by Roville.

In his notice to the reader, Roville praised highly his former editions of Marot's works — the editions reprinted largely from the " Rocher " edition. He even had the assurance to speak of the improvements he had made in the arrangement of the contents of the previous editions — improvements that had received, so he says, the sanction of competent judges and had been copied by rivals. The generous reception accorded his former editions encouraged him to publish another. Feeling, however, that he was not quite equal to the task, he sought the aid of Marot's friends. One of these friends [Fontaine], " expert et entendu en la poésie françoise," was in particular of great help to him. Not only did he render assistance by his counsel, but he also offered, " pour l'amitié qu'il avoit porté à l'autheur," to aid in revising and rearranging the text and in correcting the spelling and punctuation. In addition, this friend, says Roville, helped to unearth a number of Marot's epigrams and epistles. Roville's notice follows:

Pource, amis lecteurs, que par cy devant je vous avois baillé les œuvres de Marot assez bien ordonnées et comparties, chacune matière en son lieu, non selon ma seule opinion, mais selon le jugement d'autres mieux entendus, et que j'ay congneu que tel ordre a esté bien receu, et aussi que plusieurs autres l'ont suivy, cela m'a donné courage d'essayer de mieux faire et prier les amis de l'autheur de m'y aider: à l'un desquelz je me suis adressé, expert et entendu en la poésie françoise, pour avoir advis de luy, lequel non seulement m'en a donné conseil, mais luy mesmes s'est offert, pour l'amitié qu'il avoit porté à l'autheur, de m'aider à le revoir et racoustrer de la sorte, comme vous le pourrez voir en lisant, qui est beaucoup mieux que par cy devant, tant de l'orthographe que de la ponctuation, et autres choses dignes d'estre émendées. Et outre, j'ay recouvré, partie par son moyen, partie par autres, aucunes épistres et épigrammes de l'autheur, lesquelz avons joinctz avec les autres sur la fin d'iceulx, chacun en son rang. Aussi avons aperceu quelques épigrammes faictz à l'imitation de Martial qui estoient meslez avec ceux de son invention, comme celuy à Geoffroy Bruslard, à Benest, à Merlin de Sainct Gelais, à monsieur Castellanus, de Martin et de Catin, des Poètes françois, à Salel, lesquelz avons mis en leur rang avec les autres faictz aussi à l'imitation de Martial, qui ont esté imprimez par cy devant à part et hors du corps des œuvres: lesquelz tous ensemble avons mis incontinent après les autres épigrammes de son invention, combien qu'aucuns pourroient par aventure dire qu'ilz eussent mieux esté avec les traductions: mais toutesfois, au jugement de plusieurs, seront mieulx en cest endroit, mesmes que ce n'est

point totalement traduction, avec ce que ce sont toutes matières plaisantes et presque toutes d'une couleur et suite. Nous avons pareillement mis les Oraisons après les Pseaumes, nous semblant chose plus convenante que d'estre au lieu où elles estoient par cy devant, aussi que la pluspart sont traductions. Vous trouverez le translat des deux premiers livres de la Métamorphose orné de plusieurs belles figures[1] appropriées selon que la matière le requeroit. Nous avons osté les tiltres de l'Adolescence, Suite, et Recueil hors du corps de l'œuvre, pour ne le trop charger, et pour n'estre chose trop nécessaire: et les avons seulement laissez en la table, pour le contentement d'aucuns qui seroient, peult estre, curieux de sçavoir le divers temps des compositions. Pourtant nous espérons que chacun demourra satisfaict de notre petit labeur, lequel prendrez en gré, etc.[2]

The second task performed by Fontaine while in the employ of Roville was no less ably done than the first. It was the translation into French of a Latin work by Roville entitled *Promptuarium iconum insigniorum a seculo hominum, subiectis eorum vitis, per compendium ex probatissimis autoribus desumptis* (1553). Fontaine's translation was published for the first time in 1553 with the following title: *Promptuaire des médalles des plus renommées personnes qui ont esté depuis le commencement du monde: avec briève description de leurs vies et faicts, recueillie des bons auteurs.* The *Promptuarium* which, as the title indicates, purports to give information concerning the celebrities of the world from Adam down, was embellished with about eight hundred woodcuts *en médaillons*, the work of the Piedmontese artist, George Reverdy.[3]

I do not intend to discuss here the worth of Roville's compendium or the authenticity of Reverdy's portraits of Adam and Eve, Noah, Isis, the Minotaur, Aeneas, and others.[4] My purpose is to prove that Charles Fontaine was the translator of the

[1] By Pierre Vase; twenty-seven in the first book, eighteen in the second.

[2] M. Picot, who is of the opinion that Fontaine was the editor of this edition of Marot's works, says that twenty-eight epigrams were added, as well as the *Avant Naissance du troisiesme enfant de madame la duchesse de Ferrare.*

[3] M. Baudrier, who thinks that Reverdy was assisted by other artists, reproduces six of the woodcuts in the *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, 9e série, p. 206.

[4] For additional information relating to the *Promptuarium*, cf. Bibliography, A, no. 9.

Promptuarium, a fact that recent bibliographers have failed to mention. Such an acquisition to Fontaine's already long list of works is of no little importance. The *Promptuarium* was extremely popular during the late Renaissance,[1] and even to-day literary historians often reproduce Reverdy's medallions as the most trustworthy likenesses of the foremost men and women of the middle of the sixteenth century.[2]

It is not in Roville's preface to the *Promptuaire* that evidence must be sought to prove that Fontaine translated the work. Roville had a penchant for keeping the names of his collaborators in the background, as has been seen in connection with his edition of Marot's works. In the preface to the *Promptuaire* he goes a step farther, — he does not even hint that Fontaine served as translator or that he had anything whatever to do with the preparation of the volume.[3]

La Croix du Maine[4] was the first bibliographer to name Fontaine as the translator of the *Promptuarium*, but he failed to cite any proof in support of his statement. Goujet[5] also ascribed the translation to Fontaine, and as proof cited a single extract (*a*, below) from Fontaine's works. A careful search has brought to light three other references to the translation by Fontaine himself, and, more probatory still, the testimony of a contemporary, Bonaventure du Tronchet:

(*a*) A dizain by Fontaine:

> Après le livre de Médales,
> Et autres qu'en prose dressay . . .
> Vivra ma Muse prosaïque.[6]

[1] The popularity of the *Promptuarium* is proved by the fact that Roville published new Latin editions in 1578 and 1581, new French editions in 1576, 1577, and 1581, Italian editions in 1553, 1577, and 1581, and a Spanish edition in 1561.

[2] For example, the picture of Maurice Scève on the title page of *Maurice Scève et la Renaissance lyonnaise*, by Albert Baur, Paris, 1906.

[3] On folio 247 there is, however, a quatrain entitled *Au très chrestien Henri second du nom, Charles Fontaine.*

[4] Vol. i, p. 108, Rigoley de Juvigny edition.

[5] *Bibl. franç.*, vol. xi, p. 139.

[6] *Les Nouvelles et antiques merveilles;* also *Les Ruisseaux*, p. 339.

(*b*) The dedicatory epistle of Fontaine's *Dicts des sept Sages:*[1]

. . . depuis le temps que les sept Sages vivoyent (il y a jà deux mil ans ou plus, comme j'ay déclaré au livre du Promptuaire des médales).

(*c*) *Ibidem:*

Au reste, je ne veux répéter ici ce que j'ay traité au livre des Médales touchant la vie des sept Sages.

(*d*) The dedicatory epistle of Fontaine's *Sentences du poète Ausone:*[2]

Il y a jà deux mille ans ou plus (comme j'ay déclaré au livre du Promptuaire des médales, qui a esté présenté au Roy nostre Sire . . .) que les sept Sages de Grèce ont escrit des ditz notables.

(*e*) Bonaventure du Tronchet, in a eulogy of Fontaine's works:

Tairay je sa prose, et recueil
Du Promptuaire précieux,
A qui Pallas fait grant accueil
Pour labeur tant laborieux ?[3]

It is impossible to say whether Fontaine remained in the service of Roville after 1553, the date of the first edition of the *Promptuaire*. It will be seen later that in June, 1555, he was no longer

[1] Lyons, 1557.

[2] Lyons, 1558.

[3] *Les Nouvelles et antiques merveilles;* also *Les Ruisseaux*, p. 337. — In the first edition of the *Promptuaire*, an epistle addressed by Roville to "Madame Marguerite de France, sœur unique du roy, duchesse de Berry," contains these words: "Il m'a semblé bien convenable de vous présenter ce présent volume inscript *Promptuaire des Médalles* lequel ayant, à mon adveu, esté escript en langue latine et toscane, pour vous le rendre plus acceptable, iceluy *j'ay faict traduire en nostre langue françoise*, non pour estimer les autres langues à vostre divin esprit incogneues, mais pour ceste cy vous estre plus familière et naturelle." Commenting on these lines, M. Baudrier, who did not suspect that Fontaine translated the *Promptuarium* into French, says: "C'est par une feinte modestie, sans doute, que Rouillé, dans son épître à Marguerite de France, dit qu'il a fait traduire le *Promptuaire* en français, car dans les avis en latin, en italien, en français, précédant ses éditions variées, il s'en avoue ouvertement le père" (*Bibl. lyon.*, 9e série, p. 33). In his epistle to Marguerite, Roville was not actuated by feigned modesty; he was merely telling the truth.

connected with Roville, or at least that he accepted another position, the principalship of the Collège de la Trinité at Lyons.[1]

[1] That Fontaine was grateful to Roville for giving him employment in the hour of need is attested by the following quatrain:

Diligence et dextérité,
Amitié aux gens de savoir,
Vous devoient la prospérité
Qu'on peult chez vous apercevoir.
(*Les Ruisseaux*, p. 183: *A son compère Guillaume Rouille, libraire.*)

CHAPTER VII

FONTAINE AND THE PLÉIADE — I

La Deffence et Illustration de la langue françoise, by Joachim du Bellay. — Du Bellay's attacks on the old school. — Does Du Bellay attack Fontaine? — The replies of the old school to the *Deffence*. — *Le Quintil Horatian*, by Barthélemy Aneau. — Fontaine's letter to Jean de Morel. — *La Nouvelle manière de faire son profit des Lettres, traduitte en françois par J. Quintil du Tronssay*. — *Le Poète courtisan*. — Fontaine's attitude towards the Pliéade. — He anticipates several of the Pléiade's teachings. — Fontaine the unpardonable.

THE *Deffence et Illustration de la langue françoise* (February, 1549), Joachim du Bellay's awkward and often inconsistent manifesto, is divided into two parts: a defense of the French language against the "Latinizers," who maintained that it was inadequate to express lofty thoughts, and who showed their contempt for it by writing in Latin; an exposition of the means to be employed in enriching the French language, which was already adequate to express more lofty thoughts than some persons were willing to admit. Inasmuch as Du Bellay took the view that all languages are in the beginning equal, and that their strength or weakness is due entirely to the men that use them, he was obliged, in order to uphold this view, to disparage not only the "Latinizers" who had despised the French language, but also the writers of France who had written in the vernacular. A more important reason, however, forced him to seek to depreciate the efforts of his predecessors. The *Deffence*, which some literary historians have erroneously represented as coming like a thunderclap from a clear sky, in reality contained very little that was new. Says M. Émile Roy:[1]

A part le projet arrêté de substituer à toutes les vieilles formes de la poésie française les cadres et les genres de l'antiquité (déjà presque tous re-

[1] *Charles Fontaine et ses amis*, in the *Revue d'Hist. litt. de la France*, 1897, pp. 419–20.

nouvelés en France), on ne trouve guère autre chose dans les amples périodes de Du Bellay et ses belles phrases à longue traîne que des lieux communs. L'Italie a épuisé avant nous toutes les discussions sur l'avenir et les mérites respectifs des langues modernes, sur la grammaire, la versification, la prononciation, l'orthographe, la constitution du vocabulaire, les archaïsmes et les dialectes, et toutes ces discussions sont plus ou moins connues des ronsardisants et de leurs adversaires. Il en est de même de toutes les théories sur le progrès, sur l'hégémonie littéraire et scientifique qui passe d'un peuple à l'autre, sur l'imitation des anciens. . . Allons plus loin; non seulement il est possible, avec un long temps et une grande science, de retrouver (on l'a fait) en France même presque toutes les idées de la Pléiade avant la Pléiade . . . Si les idées de la Pléiade sont déjà connues, et s'il n'y a pas grand'chose à innover en théorie, que peut-elle faire, sinon attaquer les hommes ? La *Deffence* est surtout une attaque, le manifeste des jeunes qui dénigrent les anciens, "les classiques," comme dit déjà Sibilet, aussi bien les poètes de cour dont on envie la grâce facile, que les savants et les laborieux qui ont entrevu "une forme de poésie plus exquise."[1]

Du Bellay's method of increasing the vigor and elevating the tone of French literature was drastic; it called for the obliteration of the Marots, the Fontaines, the Haberts, the d'Aurignys, and the poetic forms that they had used, and in their stead the substitution of enthusiastic students who would devour, digest, and assimilate the literary productions of ancient Greek and Roman and modern Italian minds.[2]

[1] Cf. P. Villey, *Les Sources italiennes de la "Deffence et Illustration de la langue françoise,"* Paris, 1908, *Avant-propos:* ". . . cette œuvre [the *Deffence*], capitale dans l'histoire de notre littérature, n'est pas du tout, comme on le pensait en général, une œuvre originale. Certainement, elle est en grande partie traduite de l'italien, et probablement en totalité elle est d'inspiration italienne. C'est seulement par son opportunité, par son influence qu'elle est intéressante."

[2] *La Deffence*, II, xi: "O combien je désire voir sécher ces *Printems* [Jean Le Blond], châtier ces petites *Jeunesses* [François Habert], rabbattre ces *Coups d'essay* [François Sagon], tarir ces *Fontaines* [Charles Fontaine], bref, abolir tous ces beaux tiltres assez suffisans pour dégoûter tout lecteur sçavant d'en lire d'avantaige! Je ne souhaite moins que ces *Dépourveuz* [Clément Marot ?], ces *Humbles espérans* [Jean Le Blond], ces *Banniz de lyesse* [François Habert or Jean Meschinot], ces *Esclaves* [Michel d'Amboise], ces *Traverseurs* [Jean Bouchet] soient renvoyés à la Table ronde: et ces belles petites devises aux gentilzhommes et damoyzelles, d'où on les a empruntées." The expression "tarir ces *Fontaines*" is generally regarded as an attack on Charles Fontaine. It would have been strange indeed had Du Bellay overlooked Maître Charles, one of the foremost disciples of Marot. Fontaine, however, did not think that "tarir ces *Fontaines*" was aimed at him (cf.

In another passage of the *Deffence* (II, ii), Du Bellay continues his attack on his contemporaries and immediate predecessors. After conceding that the writings of Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun are worthy of consideration, not because of their merit as poetry, but because of their value as early monuments of French literature, and that Jean Lemaire de Belges has some good points, Du Bellay criticizes several authors who were still living or who had but recently died. This passage, on account of the fact that no names are mentioned, has caused a good deal of ink to flow. Among others, M. Henri Chamard and M. Émile Roy have endeavored to discover the identity of the poets that Du Bellay had in mind.[1] Inasmuch as M. Roy is of the opinion that one of these poets was Charles Fontaine, a consideration of his article is necessary.

MM. Chamard and Roy agree in the main upon the identity of three of the four poets attacked by Du Bellay. The first, who, according to the author of the *Deffence*, lacks " ce qui est le commencement de bien écrire, c'est le sçavoir, et auroit augmenté sa gloire de la moitié, si de la moitié il eust diminué son livre," is Clément Marot; the second, whose rimes are not always very rich, and whose poetry " est tant dénué de tous ces délices et ornementz poétiques, qu'il mérite plus le nom de phylosophe que de poète," is Antoine Héroët; and the fourth, who, " voulant trop s'éloingner du vulgaire, est tumbé en obscurité aussi difficile à éclersir en ses écriz aux plus sçavans comme aux plus ignares," is Maurice Scève.

MM. Chamard and Roy do not agree upon the identity of the third poet, whose defects, it will be observed from the following quotation, are pointed out in greater detail than are those of Marot, Héroët, and Scève:

p. 151, below). I shall show later that Fontaine, in the *Fontaine d'amour* (1545), was in reality a precursor of the Pléiade. — Du Bellay's views concerning literary *genres* will be given in the following chapter.

[1] Chamard, *Sur une page obscure de la " Deffence,"* in the *Revue d'Hist. litt. de la France*, 1897, p. 239; Roy, *Charles Fontaine et ses amis*, *ibid.*, 1897, p. 412.

Un autre, pour n'avoir encores rien mis en lumière soubz son nom, ne mérite qu'on luy donne le premier lieu: et semble (disent aucuns) que par les écriz de ceux de son tens, il veuille éternizer son nom, non autrement que Démade est ennobly par la contention de Démostène, et Hortense de Cicéron. Que si on en vouloit faire jugement au seul rapport de la renommée, on rendroit les vices d'iceluy égaulx, voyre plus grands que ses vertuz, d'autant que tous les jours se lysent nouveaux écriz soubz son nom, à mon avis aussi éloignez d'aucunes choses qu'on m'a quelques fois asseuré estre de luy, comme en eux n'y a ny grâce ny érudition.

After some hesitation, M. Chamard decides that this poet is Jacques Bouju. In a reply to M. Chamard's article, M. Roy expresses the opinion that Charles Fontaine is the object of Du Bellay's criticism. Later, M. Chamard comes forward with another solution — Mellin de Saint-Gelais is meant.[1] Such a divergence of opinion might lead "too iniquitous or too severe estimators of things" to judge that conjectures of this nature are of slight value. Let us examine, however, M. Roy's arguments concerning Fontaine. Bouju and Saint-Gelais may be disregarded.

As a clew to the identity he is seeking, M. Roy takes up the word " contention " used by Du Bellay. This he defines as " émulation," " rivalité," " débat," and he thinks that the poet in question sought to win fame by participating in every literary debate that arose. The chief " contentions " of the period were the " blasons des membres du corps féminin," by Marot and his friends, the controversy between Marot and Sagon, and the " querelle des amies." M. Roy dismisses the first two. Of the poets whose names are connected with the " querelle des amies," Héroët, La Borderie, Angier, Papillon, and d'Aurigny are eliminated for one reason or another. Fontaine alone remains. He seems to meet all requirements, says M. Roy, but only " with a few explanations."

Did Fontaine publish nothing under his own name prior to 1549 ? asks M. Roy. His case rests on that point. He passes in review Fontaine's works: the poems published during the dispute between Marot and Sagon (1537), the *Response* to Papillon's

[1] *La Deffence*, Chamard edition, Paris, 1904, p. 182, note 1.

Victoire et triumphe d'Argent (1537), the *Contr'amye de Court* (1541, 1543), and the *Fontaine d'amour* (1545 and 1546). The last named appeared anonymously, says M. Roy, and so it need not be considered.[1] The pieces in defense of Marot against Sagon and the response to Papillon's poem were published in collections that did not bear Fontaine's name on the title page.[2]

We now come to a point which destroys M. Roy's arguments concerning Fontaine's anonymous publications. Trusting Brunet's *Manuel*, he says that the *Contr'amye de Court* did not bear the name of the author on the title page. In 1896, the year preceding the appearance of M. Roy's article, Président Baudrier published the second series of the *Bibliographie lyonnaise*, which contains the following item:[3] "La Contr'amye de court: par Maistre Charles Fontaine Parisien. *A Lyon, chez Sulpice Sabon: pour Antoine Constantin.* [A la fin:] *Imprimé à Lyon par Sulpice Sabon*, 1543. In-8 de 47 pp. . . . Cat. Didot, 1878, no. 272." M. Roy has taken unwarranted liberties with Fontaine's other productions, but he cannot pass over the *Contr'amye de Court* as an insignificant or unknown work. Du Bellay must have been acquainted with it, and he must have observed Fontaine's name on the title page.[4]

[1] Fontaine's name appears above the dedicatory letter to the Duke of Orléans. M. Roy does not mention this fact.

[2] Fontaine's name, however, appears above each of his poems in these collections, and this fact weakens M. Roy's argument. Must a writer's name be on the title page of a collection of poems before it will be admitted that he is not an anonymous writer? The point is carried too far. M. Roy goes a step farther. In 1546 Fontaine published his *Estreines à certains seigneurs et dames de Lyon*, and on the title page appear the words "par maistre Charles Fontaine." This seems to be an insurmountable obstacle, and yet M. Roy brushes it aside with the remark that, on account of the "intimate and domestic" nature of the volume, Du Bellay may never have heard of it. Such a possibility is scarcely admissible. In 1546 Fontaine was a poet of national renown, and even if this truly insignificant work had not reached Paris through ordinary channels, it is certain that Fontaine, a native of Paris, and none too modest, would have taken care that it did reach Paris, the home of many of his friends, and the literary center of France.

[3] P. 32.

[4] Compare also: *La Contr'amye de court: Par Charles Fontaine Parisien. Imprimé par Adam Saulnier*, [Paris]. 1543. Bibl. Nat., Réserve p. Ye. 479.

In conclusion, it may be said that, while M. Roy's article is ingenious and interesting, he fails to prove his thesis. The points that he does prove[1] may be applied to many poets of the time (M. Chamard unearths two), and he fails to show that Fontaine published nothing under his name before 1549.

Scarcely had the *Deffence* appeared when several members of the old school undertook to reply to Du Bellay's arraignment.[2] Thomas Sibilet felt that he was especially called on to rebuke the youthful Joachim, since the latter had held up to ridicule one of the verses of his *Sonnet à l'envieux*, published in the *Art poëtique françoys*. Sibilet's response is very brief, — merely a few lines in an epistle to the reader in his translation of Euripides's *Iphigenia* (November, 1549). In the *Art poëtique*, Sibilet had only words of praise for translations; in the *Deffence*, Du Bellay declared translations worthless as a means of giving the French language and literature the vigor and grandeur that characterize the languages and the literatures of antiquity. Sibilet certainly had this declaration in mind when he told the reader of his *Iphigène* that " cette mienne mignardise à l'aventure déplaira à la délicatesse de la délicatesse de quelques hardis repreneurs: mais si je say que la friandise vous en plaise, ce me sera plaisir de leur déplaire en vous plaisant." He also introduced a harmless personal thrust by ridiculing Du Bellay's desire to rise above the common herd, to write only for " une affectée demye-douzaine des estimés princes de notre langue," and to win immortality through his paltry writings.

[1] " Les nouveaux écriz qui se lysent tous les jours soubz son nom," according to M. Roy, are the *Ruisseaux de Fontaine*, published in 1555, six years after the *Deffence*. In the *Ruisseaux* there are many poems written as early as 1540, and so they may have been circulated in manuscript before 1549. In the same volume Fontaine also mentions a work or two that he presented to Francis I. Hence M. Roy's argument concerning the " nouveaux écriz " is valid. To prove that Fontaine aspired " au premier lieu," M. Roy quotes some of the poet's self-laudatory verses, and also the praises of a few of his contemporaries. That point is indisputable, — Fontaine was convinced that he belonged in the front rank.

[2] Cf. Chamard, *Joachim du Bellay*, Lille, 1900, pp. 144 ff.

Sibilet's rebuke, confined to the two passages cited above, was far from violent. The same may be said of the reprimand administered to Du Bellay by Guillaume des Autelz, a member of the old school, but also a close friend of the Pléiade. In his *Réplique aux furieuses défenses de Louis Meigret* (1550), Des Autelz says that he is pleased to see the innovators doing so much for French poetry, but he fears that they are unjust and ungrateful toward their predecessors. With considerable critical acumen, he attacks Du Bellay's theory of imitation, between which and mere translation the differences are slight. He advises poets to cease copying the writers of antiquity and the Italians, to abandon imitation as well as translation, and to endeavor to be original. He defends some of the old poetic forms condemned by Du Bellay — the *ballade*, the *chant royal*, the *lai*, the *moralité*, and even *vers batelés* and *couronnés*, — and rightly says that a good poem, call it *ballade*, *lai*, *ode*, or what not, deserves the scorn of no man. He closes his criticism with praise of Ronsard's odes and of Marot.

The manifestations of displeasure by Sibilet and Des Autelz are unimportant when compared with a curious little volume, *Le Quintil Horatian*[1] *sur la Deffence et Illustration de la langue françoise*, which endeavored to refute the *Deffence* in its entirety. For nearly three and one-half centuries the *Quintil Horatian* was attributed to Charles Fontaine. Thanks to the efforts of M. Pierre de Nolhac and M. Henri Chamard, the identity of the real author is now determined. The arguments set forth by M. Chamard prove so convincingly that Fontaine was not the author of the *Quintil Horatian* that it will be well to summarize them here.

M. Chamard's article[2] is divided into two parts: the first is devoted to the establishment of the date of the *Quintil Horatian* (February or March, 1550, and not 1551), the second to the elucidation of the question of authorship.

[1] For the Quintilius of Horace, see *Epist. ad Pisones*, 438.

[2] *La Date et l'auteur du "Quintil Horatian,"* in the *Revue d'Hist. litt. de la France*, 1898, p. 54.

In proving that Fontaine was not the author of the *Quintil Horatian*, M. Chamard properly lays stress on a letter written by Fontaine to Jean de Morel,[1] in which he denies emphatically that he had anything to do with the composition of the *Quintil Horatian*.[2] He goes farther, — he lays the *Quintil Horatian* at the door of his friend Barthélemy Aneau, principal of the Collège de la Trinité at Lyons. The essential part of Fontaine's letter to Morel follows:

Je vous vueil aussi advertir de quelque chose qui concerne mon nom et honneur et vous prier m'y aider et pour la raison. Car soyez asseuré qu'à tort et sans cause l'on me charge par delà d'avoir fait un petit traicté intitulé Quintil sur la Deffence et illustration de la langue françoise, et en ay jà y a environ trois sepmaines que j'en ay escrit response, et m'en suis purgé à monsieur le Prévost du Fort l'Évesque qui m'en avoit fait advertir, comment cela estoit mal prins et à mon désavantage. Sachez donc et maintenez franchement contre tous que je ne suis auteur dudict Quintil, mais le principal du collège de ceste ville, lequel me pensant faire plaisir y adjousta et feit un quatrain[3] en la fin où il a mis mon nom dessus; dont l'on a prins l'occasion de m'estimer l'auteur dudict Quintil précédent ledict quatrain, qui toutesfoys ne sera point estimé estre sorti de moy ny sentir ma veine à tous qui avec bon jugement y adviseront de près, ny aussi plusieurs choses qui sont dans le corps dudict Quintil. Et davantage quant ledict quatrain où est mon nom seroit mien (ce qu'il n'est, et vous jure mon Dieu que jamais je n'y ay pensé ny n'en ay jamais escript ny composé un seul vers ny une seule lettre), s'ensuit il qu'il faille incontinent et légèrement juger et conclure: ergo le Quintil qui précède ledict quatrain est dudict Fontaine ? Mais pourquoy donc (respondra un homme de bon jugement) et plus tost ne mettoit ledict Fontaine son nom devant ledict Quintil, que le Quintil estant fini le mettre sur un quatrain seul, qui ne correspond au Quintil qui est en prose, mesme attendu qu'il semble par ledict quatrain qu'il ayt promis et produit au dessus une œuvre poétique par laquelle il se veuille donner gloire qui effacera l'Olive ? Je croy que vous et tout homme de bon esprit qui m'a congneu dedans et dehors, ou seulement dehors, par mes petites œuvres

[1] Jean de Morel (1511–1581), a native of Embrun, after early travels in Switzerland and Italy, returned to Paris, where his house became the rendezvous of the foremost men of letters of the middle of the sixteenth century. On account of his readiness to lend a helping hand to young poets, he was one of the most important figures of the time. His three daughters, Camille, Lucrèce, and Diane, and his wife, Antoinette de Loynes, also took a lively interest in literary matters.

[2] This letter was discovered by M. Pierre de Nolhac. See P. de Nolhac, *Lettres de Joachim du Bellay*, Paris, 1883, p.86.

[3] Cf. p. 153, below.

juvéniles, ne m'estimera point si arrogant et immodeste que ledict quatrain sonne.

Il y a plusieurs autres raisons que je diray paraventure quelque jour plus amplement, faisans du tout au contraire de l'estime que d'aucuns ont que soys auteur dudict Quintil; mais à présent pour n'estre trop long je vous en diray encor une, que bien prendrez ou je suis bien déceu. Vous sçavez, Monsr et amy, que j'ay souvent et fort débatu avec vous que feu Monsr de Langey (quem ego virum honoris causa nomino) n'estoit autheur d'ung livre qu'on [luy attri] buoit, ductus vel sola hac ratione, que l'autheur dudict [livre louoit] bien fort Monsr de Langey, et qu'estoye en ceste opinion que [ledict] seigneur n'eust esté si immodeste de se louer tant en un sien livre et en tierce personne,[1] qui me semble chose très mal consonnante et conforme à tout bon autheur qui veult tenir sa réputation, et à toute bonne œuvre escrite: or est il que l'autheur dudict Quintil en certain passage extolle la Fontaine pour abaisser un autre et en parlant de Fontaine en tierce personne, ce que jamais je ne ferois pour les raisons que je débatois avec vous à l'honneur de Monsr de Langey, comme j'ay dit. Pour conclusion, vous povez penser si je suis joyeux, id est que je suis bien fasché d'avoir esté nommé et imprimé en un bel quatrain qui n'est mien, et au moyen de quoy l'on pense que je soys autheur du Quintil. Il est vray aussi que l'on pourroit penser que je seroye fasché de quoy l'autheur de l'Illustration auroit ainsi escript: " O qu'il me tarde que je voye sécher ces prim temps, tarir ces fontaines "; mais je vous asseure que non suis, tant pour ce que je doubte s'il entend taxer ma Fontaine d'amour ou quelque autre livre qui seroit nommé les Fontaines, car il ne dit pas " tarir ceste fontaine "; comme aussi parce que je ne fay pas cas de madicte Fontaine, qui est seulement mon adolescence que depuis j'ay recourue, et[2] . . . en vouloir ny pensement d'escrire contre ledict . . . ceste occasion, et en quelque sorte qu'il entende ce passage; car aussi j'ay bien d'autres pensemens en ma teste. Il est vray que qui me taxeroit impudemment et nommément, certes adonc je voudroys abandonner tous les présens pensemens et affaires pour en prendre ung autre nouveau, à sçavoir de contr'escrire, me deffendre et purger, avec toute modestie toutesfoys, au moins autant qu'il me seroit naturellement possible. Je suis trop long, mais je vous pry m'excuser et soustenir fort et ferme contre tous que je ne suys auteur ny du Quintil ny du quatrain qui est après, et que l'on y vise de près. En cest endroit me recommanderay à vostre bonne grâce et à la damoiselle de voz biens, que Dieu gard et vous et les vostres et siens. Il vous plaira faire mes recommandations à mess^rs les conseillers du Lyon et Verius et à Monsr de Villaines, quant l'occasion se trouvera, sans oublier les autres

[1] " Guillaume du Bellay, seigneur de Langey, parle de lui-même à la troisième personne dans ses *Ogdoades;* mais, si c'est de cet ouvrage qu'il s'agit dans la lettre de Fontaine, celui-ci a dû le voir en manuscrit, car il n'a été imprimé qu'en 1569, à la suite des mémoires de Martin du Bellay . . ." (Note by P. de Nolhac).

[2] The manuscript is torn in several places. When possible, M. de Nolhac supplies the missing letters or words; otherwise suspension points are inserted.

que sçavez estre de ma cognoissance, mesmement Monsr de Belle Isle et Monsr Chesneau,[1] auxquels vous plaira dire que j'espère estre bien tost à Paris, ou, si en brief je n'y voys, qu'ilz auront de mes nouvelles.

C'est de Lyon ce viij april [1550] par
Celui qui est vostre entièrement,
Charles Fontaine.

[Address:] Monsr de Morel.

Strangely enough, some modern critics question Fontaine's word when he says that Barthélemy Aneau wrote the *Quintil Horatian*.[2] The following additional arguments advanced by M. Chamard render doubt impossible:

(*a*) The *Quintil Horatian* rejects the elegy. Fontaine's elegies form one of the most pleasing parts of his work; for example, the twenty-two elegies in the *Fontaine d'amour* and the two on the death of his sister Catherine and his son René.[3]

(*b*) Fontaine, who was born in 1515 [rather 1514], could not have translated Horace's *Ars Poetica* into French before 1530. The author of the *Quintil Horatian* says that he made such a translation "more than twenty years ago," that is, more than twenty years before 1550, the date of the *Quintil Horatian*.

(*c*) The contents of the *Quintil Horatian* indicate that its author was a college regent, a man thoroughly versed in grammar, rhetoric, and dialectics; hence Aneau rather than Fontaine.[4]

[1] "Dans les *Ruisseaux* . . . on trouve une dédicace 'à Monsieur du Lyon, conseiller au Parlement de Paris' (p. 167), une autre 'à Monsieur de Belle Isle' (p. 193), une enfin 'à Louis Chesneau, lecteur en hébrieu, à Paris' (p. 202)." (Note by P. de Nolhac). Fontaine addressed several poems to Jacques Verius, "conseiller au Parlement de Paris." Monsieur de Villaines was Jean Brinon, "seigneur de Villaines, conseiller du Roy en sa court de Parlement à Paris," to whom Fontaine inscribed many poems. For an appreciation of Brinon, a most interesting person, see P. Laumonier, *Ronsard poète lyrique*, p. 133.

[2] Cf. Chamard, *Revue d'Hist. litt. de la France*, 1898, p. 60.

[3] Cf. pp. 177 ff., and 186 ff., below, and p. 124, above.

[4] This argument is not very strong. In chapter X, I shall show by means of a hitherto unpublished document that Fontaine was for a short time principal of the Collège de la Trinité, the position held by Aneau when the *Quintil Horatian* appeared. Although Fontaine did not accept the principalship until 1555, there is little doubt that in 1550 he was well acquainted with the studies mentioned by M. Chamard.

[illegible] ; id est que de [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
et de primes et les bel [illegible] qui [illegible] mieux : et [illegible] [illegible]
les [illegible] que de [illegible] [illegible] du [illegible]. Je est [illegible] [illegible] q
les [illegible] que de [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] de
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] ; O quel [illegible] que de [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
que [illegible] [illegible] que de [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
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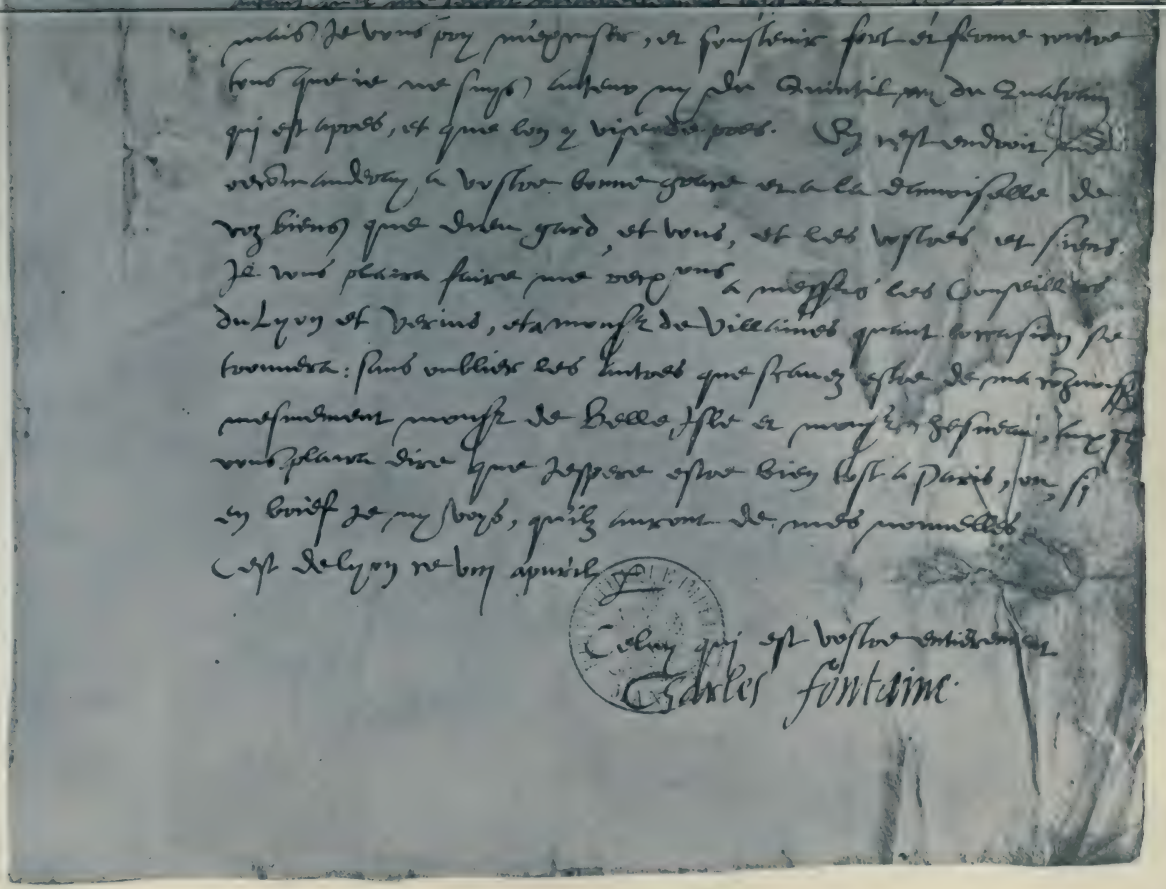

Celuy qui est vostre entierement
Charles fontaine

THE LAST PAGE OF FONTAINE'S LETTER TO JEAN DE MOREL

Reproduced from the original document now in the Bibliothèque Nationale

(*d*) The author of the *Quintil Horatian* seems to say that he was a jurisconsult. Aneau was a jurisconsult, Fontaine was not.

(*e*) The style of the *Quintil Horatian* is quite like Aneau's style — the same pedantic language, the same abuse of Greek and Latin derivatives.[1]

(*f*) In the *Quintil Horatian* there are ideas and phrases used by Aneau in other works.

After setting forth these arguments, M. Chamard endeavors to explain why the *Quintil Horatian* was ascribed to Fontaine rather than to Aneau.[2] Aneau, recognizing that he was not famous enough to fight the battles of the old school, looked about him for a champion and chose Fontaine, one of Marot's friends and disciples, and a poet known throughout France. In order to dupe the public he published the *Quintil Horatian* anonymously, and added at the end the following quatrain:

La Fontaine à I. D. B. A.[3]

Jamais si tost ne tarira
Claire eau de ma fontaine vive,
Que légier feu esteinct sera
De l'huyle obscur de ton Olive.[4]

[1] M. Chamard might have made this, his most convincing argument, much stronger had he carried it farther. He cites merely examples of Aneau's prose as compared with the prose of the *Quintil Horatian*. He should also have contrasted Fontaine's straightforward prose (when Fontaine wrote for publication) with the often incomprehensible jargon of the *Quintil Horatian*.

[2] M. Louis Clément (*Revue de la Renaissance*, 1904, p. 231) thinks that Aneau and Fontaine were joint authors of the *Quintil Horatian*.

[3] I[oachim] D[u] B[ellay] A[ngevin]. Only the initials appear on the title page of the *Deffence*.

[4] Du Bellay's *Olive* (1549) contained fifty sonnets and thirteen odes. — With Aneau's quatrain compare the following extract from the *Quintil Horatian:* "En-vieux souhait ["tarir ces *Fontaines*," etc.; cf. p. 144, note 2, above] par lequel tu désires les œuvres d'autruy estre anéantiz, qui ne sont moins dignes de durée que les tiens, et te mocques de leurs tiltres, qui sont modestes, et non ambitieux comme le tien, et ne dégoustans pas les lecteurs (comme tu dis), mais plustost les invitans. Car autant et plus gracieux est Printemps et Fontaine comme Olive: le Printemps portant aussi belles fleurs, que ton Olive beaux fruictz: la Fontaine aussi coulante et claire, que l'huile de ton Olive est crasseux et faisant obscure lumière."

In the *Quintil Horatian*, adds M. Chamard, Aneau also sought to deceive his readers by writing the word "Fontaine" with a capital letter when a small letter would have been more appropriate.

Aneau's trick was successful. Even contemporary writers thought Fontaine the author of the *Quintil Horatian*, as may be seen from the following huitain by Guillaume des Autelz:

A M. Charles Fonteine, contre un envieux

Les neuf Muses ont leur eau vive
Mieux recongnue en ta fonteine
Que Pallas ne void son Olive
Pacifique, en l'audace vaine,
Qui ta louenge très certaine
Veult abbaisser: ô envieux,
Louenge est tant de toy lointaine
Que tu es jeune entre les vieux.[1]

The *Deffence*, as I have pointed out, probably contains one allusion to Charles Fontaine, "tarir ces *Fontaines*." This was not the only attack that Du Bellay made upon Fontaine, according to Édouard Fournier and M. Louis Clément.

In 1559 was published at Poitiers (or, more likely, at Paris) a small octavo volume entitled *La Nouvelle manière de faire son profit des Lettres, traduitte en françois par J. Quintil du Tronssay, en Poictou. Ensemble: le Poëte-Courtisan.* It is especially the translation by J. Quintil du Tronssay that interests us for the moment.

This translation was republished in 1863 by Édouard Fournier,[2] and around it the learned editor wove a fantastic tale. Concerning the authorship of the poem translated he knew nothing.[3]

[1] *Repos de plus grand travail* (1550), p. 17. — Inasmuch as the *Quintil Horatian* has been definitely stricken from Fontaine's works, its contents will not be considered here. See H. Chamard, *Joachim du Bellay*, pp. 151–158; J. Spingarn, *History of Literary Criticism in the Renaissance*, p. 182; A. Tilley, *The Literature of the French Renaissance*, vol. i, p. 315.

[2] *Variétés historiques et littéraires*, in the *Bibl. Elzév.*, vol. x, p. 131.

[3] The poem (in Latin) was by Adrien Turnèbe. Cf. Chamard, *J. du Bellay*, p. 414; Louis Clément, *De A. Turnebi praefationibus et poematis*, Paris, 1899.

He conjectured that J. Quintil du Tronssay was only the pseudonym of the translator, Joachim du Bellay.[1] He also attempted to discover the identity of the person attacked in the Latin poem, and at second hand by Du Bellay. Du Bellay's pseudonym reminded him of the *Quintil Horatian*, and as Charles Fontaine was still accepted as the author of that work, he must have been the object, thought Fournier, of the attack in the *Nouvelle manière de faire son profit des Lettres*. In other words, this was Du Bellay's reply to the *Quintil Horatian*. Let us see what grounds there are for such a supposition.

J. Quintil du Tronssay's poem begins as follows:

> Quant à ce que tes vers frissonnent de froidure,
> Que tes labeurs sont vains, et que pour ta pasture
> A grand'peine tu as un morceau de gros pain,
> Voire de pain moisi, pour appaiser ta faim;
> Que ton vuide estomac abboye, et ta gencive
> Demeure sans mascher le plus souvent oysive,
> Comme si le jeusner exprès te feust enjoinct
> Par les Juifs retaillez; que tu es mal en poinct,
> Mal vestu, mal couché: Amy, ne pren la peine
> De faire désormais ceste complainte vaine.

The satirist now tells his unfortunate brother how he may deceive the public and make his worthless verses pass for masterpieces. First, let him betake himself to Italy:

> Premier, comme un marchand qui parle navigage
> S'en va chercher bien loing quelque estrange rivage,
> Afin de trafiquer et argent amasser,
> Tu dois veoir l'Italie et les Alpes passer,
> Car c'est de là que vient la fine marchandise
> Qu'en béant on admire, et que si hault on prise.
> Si le rusé marchand est menteur asseuré,
> Et s'il sçait pallier d'un fard bien coloré
> Mille bourdes qu'il a en France rapportées,
> Assez pour en charger quatre grandes chartées;
> S'il sçait, parlant de Rome, un chacun estonner;
> Si du nom de Pavie il fait tout résonner;
> Si des Vénitiens que la mer environne,

[1] M. Chamard and M. Clément also ascribe the translation to Du Bellay.

Si des champs de la Pouille il discourt et raisonne;
Si, vanteur, il sçait bien son art authoriser,
Louer les estrangers, les François mespriser;
Si des lettres l'honneur à luy seul il réserve
Et desdaigne en crachant la françoise Minerve.

Can any one doubt, asks Fournier, that this ironical advice was given to Charles Fontaine ? Had he not visited Italy, and had he not returned to France with " great scorn for our national literature, for the French Minerva " ? Fontaine visited Italy, it is true, but there is no evidence that he scorned French literature on account of his infatuation for the Italians. Later in this chapter I shall cite extracts from his works which show that no Frenchman of the sixteenth century had greater reverence for the French language and literature.

The satire continues:

Il sera bon aussi de te faire advouer
De quelque cardinal.

This, admits Fournier, is more of an attack on Du Bellay than on Fontaine, since Joachim had been in the service of Jean du Bellay.

Next, says the satirist, let the poet frequent learned men and gain their good will, that he may be praised by them. Let him also win the favor of the ladies of the court, for they can render great assistance to their friends. These points, Fournier does not connect with Fontaine, but the following, he thinks, " goes straight at Fontaine " :

Il te fault quelques fois, soit en vers, soit en prose,
Escrire finement quelque petite chose
Qui sente son Virgile et Cicéron aussi.

This, remarks Fournier, is a reference to the *Quintil Horatian*, in which Fontaine " shows himself so pedantically infatuated with the Latin of Horace, Virgil, and Cicero."

The satirist advises the poet not to publish anything, but to depreciate what others publish:

Mesmes, ce qui sera des autres imprimé,
Afin que tu en sois plus sçavant estimé,
Il te le fault blasmer.

This counsel, too, says Fournier, is intended for Fontaine, the author of the *Quintil Horatian.*

The remainder of the poem is devoted to a consideration of mediocre authors who talk incessantly about the works they have under way, and thus gain fame through writings that never materialize. Naturally, this does not apply to Fontaine, who had published a score of volumes prior to 1559.

Of the three thrusts in the *Nouvelle manière de faire son profit des Lettres* which, in Fournier's judgment, "go straight at Fontaine," one, Fontaine's scorn for French literature, is simply a misstatement, and the other two are based upon Fontaine's authorship of the *Quintil Horatian.* Granting that, in the opinion of his contemporaries, Fontaine was the author of the *Quintil Horatian*, such a foundation is too weak to uphold the conjecture that he was the target for Turnèbe's satire, which contains many allusions that are not applicable to him.[1]

In the same volume with the *Nouvelle manière de faire son profit des Lettres* was published for the first time Joachim du Bellay's celebrated satire, the *Poète courtisan*, the greater part of which, according to M. Louis Clément, was also directed against Fontaine.[2]

M. Clément agrees in a measure with the time-honored opinion that the *Poète courtisan* was aimed at Mellin de Saint-Gelais, the court poet par excellence of his day. Can any one, he asks, fail to recognize Saint-Gelais in the poet whom Du Bellay advised to

[1] M. Chamard and M. Clément are of the opinion that Turnèbe's poem was aimed at Pierre de Paschal, historiographer of Henry II. Paschal, a resourceful man, but a worthless writer, persuaded his literary friends to praise him unstintingly, with the result that he was appointed to his high position at court. Once installed in office, he forgot the friends who had placed him there and whom he had promised to favor. His friends, Du Bellay and Turnèbe among them, then turned against him and made him the butt of bitter attacks.

[2] *Le Poète courtisan de J. du Bellay*, in the *Revue de la Renaissance*, 1904, p. 225.

prize petty sonnets, dizains, *chansons*, *rondeaux*, and *ballades* more highly than the *Iliad;* to scorn the writers of antiquity, and to seek inspiration from the court alone; to write *pièces de circonstance* on a victory, a wedding, a banquet, or a tournament; to have his *chansons* set to music and sung in the chamber of the king? And who can doubt that Du Bellay had Saint-Gelais in mind when he represented the court poet winning fame by serving as guide to poets newly arrived at court? Finally, Saint-Gelais was surely meant, says M. Clément, when Du Bellay alluded to the ridicule that would have been the lot of a certain poet, "de son temps le premier estimé," had he published any of his works.

Unfortunately, M. Clément finds a number of allusions that do not fit Saint-Gelais. Another prototype of the *Poète courtisan* must be found. Pierre de Paschal, as well as Saint-Gelais, showed a disinclination to publish his compositions, and also made just such a display of learning as Du Bellay censures in these lines:

> Il fault des lieux communs, qu'à tous propos on tire,
> Passer ce qu'on ne sçait, et se monstrer sçavant
> En ce que l'on a leu deux ou trois soirs devant.

Notwithstanding the clear case made against Saint-Gelais and Paschal, M. Clément discovers that he has the greater part of the *Poète courtisan* left on his hands. Still another prototype must be found. Charles Fontaine sought to gain the favor of royalty by flattery; Du Bellay surely had him in mind. M. Clément does not stop there. Saint-Gelais and Paschal were honored with only a few verses of the satire; Fontaine was the chief of the court poets, and in addition a base and scheming knave.

Poor Maître Charles, who spent most of his life in poverty, is introduced to the reader by M. Clément in the following terms: "Saint-Gelays mort, il [Fontaine] était le chef désigné des versificateurs de cour,[1] la mouche la plus bourdonnante et la plus gour-

[1] If M. Clément's remark is true, the court poets had in Fontaine a most apathetic chief. There is no evidence that after Saint-Gelais's death (October 14, 1558) Fontaine composed a single verse besides the *Salutation au Roy Charles IX, sus son entrée en sa noble et antique ville de Lyon* (1564), a pamphlet of sixteen pages.

mande de l'essaim qui s'abattait sur les gratifications royales. A ce titre seul, il avait sa place marquée dans la satire du *Poète courtisan*." M. Clément then advances the following arguments to prove that Fontaine was the main object of Du Bellay's satire:

(*a*) The *Poète courtisan* condemns writers of dizains, epigrams, and other short pieces addressed to great lords. Fontaine wrote such poems.

(*b*) The *Poète courtisan* condemns poets who profess to be born poets, and who boast that they write verses with little effort. Fontaine was proud of the fact that his poems cost him little labor, and that he was a poet by nature.

(*c*) Fontaine sought to make his writings clear. Du Bellay advises the court poet to avoid all " mots durs ou nouveaux " that puzzle the reader.

(*d*) Fontaine invoked Apollo. Du Bellay informs the reader that he is going to depict " Apollon courtisan."

(*e*) Fontaine asserted that he did not write for the common herd. This boast does not escape Du Bellay.

(*f*) Fontaine said that he kept his poems for some time, rewrote them, tried to improve them. This, says Du Bellay, is a sign that the poet is afraid to publish his poems.

(*g*) Fontaine flattered the members of the Pléiade, and on the same page praised Marot and Saint-Gelais. This equivocal attitude, says M. Clément, explains why Du Bellay attacked Fontaine in the *Poète courtisan*. Then M. Clément, recalling the passage in which the court poet gains prestige by acting as guide to poets newly arrived at court, changes his mind: " L'homme, ici dépeint, a le caractère bas et envieux de Fontaine," he remarks, and yet he prefers Saint-Gelais, for had Saint-Gelais not assumed an equivocal attitude when he sought to belittle Ronsard's verses by reading them aloud in a ridiculous manner ?

(*h*) Fontaine addressed poems to men of learning, as well as to great lords. Du Bellay counsels the court poet to flatter the learned.

After presenting these arguments, M. Clément says by way of conclusion: " Poète courtisan, Fontaine l'a été dans ses livres, il est infiniment probable qu'il essaya de jouer ce rôle à la cour; sinon on ne s'expliquerait pas qu'il ait reçu, avec une mesure aussi large, les honneurs de la satire."

M. Clément offers the reader a conclusion that does not conclude. His " probable " reveals the weakness of his thesis. It is unquestionably difficult to prove that Fontaine was *the* court poet unless it can be proved that he was *a* court poet. " In his books " Fontaine was a court poet in precisely the same manner as Marot, Saint-Gelais, Habert, Des Autelz, Ronsard, Du Bellay, and virtually every other poet of note in the sixteenth century.[1] The *Poète courtisan* was not directed against an individual, either Saint-Gelais or Paschal or Fontaine, but against a class; and some characteristic of this class is to be found in almost all the contemporaries of Ronsard and Du Bellay.[2]

In attempting to prove at all costs that the *Poète courtisan* was aimed especially at Fontaine, M. Clément treats him most unjustly. That Maître Charles lacked the gift of composing delicate verses no one will deny. But he was neither ignorant nor imbecile, as M. Clément declares *passim*.[3] However, these points may be disregarded. It is when M. Clément represents Fontaine's attitude towards the Pléiade as that of an envious, jealous intriguer that he makes his most grievous error.[4] Must

[1] By actual test I find that all but one (*g*) of M. Clément's arguments can be applied to Ronsard, whom Du Bellay surely was not attacking. Naturally, Ronsard did not assume an equivocal attitude towards the Pléiade. That he was not free from envy is shown, however, by the sonnet which begins *Ils ont menti, Daurat.*

[2] Cf. P. Laumonier, *Ronsard poète lyrique*, Paris, 1909, p. 172, note 5: "L. Clément, pour qui Du Bellay a visé surtout Fontaine en empruntant quelques traits également à Paschal et à Saint-Gelais. Nous pensons que cette satire a une portée bien plus générale et s'applique à tous les poètes du temps."

[3] Cf. Clément, p. 249: " Ces traits du caractère de Fontaine sont précisément ceux qu'a relevés Du Bellay: l'obséquiosité grimaçante, l'ignorance et la sottise présomptueuse."

[4] Cf. Clément, p. 232: " Fontaine n'avait à l'égard de la Pléiade que des sentiments de basse jalousie. Dépourvu de toute faculté poétique, son impuissance l'aigrissait; mais il suppléait au talent par l'intrigue."

it be supposed that because Fontaine was a disciple of Marot he did not see that the principles advocated by the Pléiade were on the whole excellent ? When he praised Ronsard, Du Bellay and their followers for their efforts toward bettering the language and literature of France, must it be inferred that his praise was insincere, and was prompted only by a desire to curry favor with the victorious side ? Because a poet is mediocre, must he be hypocritical and malevolent ?

The following verses show Fontaine's real attitude toward the members of the Pléiade: [1]

A M. de Ronsard, poète qui nous a resuscité le Pyndare, poète lyrique grec.

Dieu gard celuy dont la grand' lyre
A la grande France estonnée,
Quand luy feit craqueter et dire
Sa chanson thébaine entonnée:

Autant haulte comme nouvelle
A la douce oreille gallique,
Et d'autant admirable et belle
Qu'elle sonne à la pyndarique.[2]

To Du Bellay, " seigneur de Gonnor ":

Pour escrire vers de hault pris
Tu entens mieulx que moy le poinct.[3]

To Dorat, " très docte en grec ":

Ami, non moins savant que sage,
Celuy qui ores ne saura
D'où vient Minerve, le lira
Facilement en ton visage.[4]

[1] Only once does Fontaine speak slightingly of the methods of the Pléiade (cf. p. 197, below). M. Clément overlooked the passage.

[2] *Les Nouvelles et antiques merveilles: Ode pour Dieu gard à la ville de Paris*, stanzas 74 and 75. Compare also the quatrain *A Pierre de Ronsard, poète du roy:*

Ne creins, ne creins, Ronsard, ce dous stile poursuivre,
Stile qui te fera, non moins que l'autre, vivre:
Autre obscur et scabreux, s'il ne fait à blâmer,
Si se fait il pourtant trop plus creindre qu'aymer.
(*Odes, énigmes, et épigrammes*, p. 67.)

[3] *Les Ruisseaux*, p. 199.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 202.

To Baïf:

> Le chant de ta Muse, Baïf,
> Muse françoise, donc eureuse,
> Est si parfaict et si naïf,
> Si plein de grâce armonieuse
> Qu'il te fera, et mort et vif,
> Vivre la vie glorieuse,
> Mal gré Caron et son esquif,
> Mal gré l'eau noire oblivieuse.[1]

For Jodelle's *Cléopâtre*, "que le roy voulut voir jouer," for Olivier de Magny and his Castianire, for Belleau and Pontus de Tyard, Fontaine had only words of praise.[2] To Du Bellay, Ronsard, Jodelle, Baïf, and Magny, he addressed the following sixain:

> Les vers latins j'ay délaissez
> Pour escrire en nos vers françois,
> Où la Muse vous ha poussez.
> C'estoit, c'estoit aux temps passez,
> Paravant ce grand Roy François
> Qu'on brouilloit tout en latinois.[3]

There is no reason to believe that Fontaine was insincere. The verses cited above deserve more consideration than does M. Clément's proof of Fontaine's base and envious nature — that is, his having placed eulogies of Ronsard, Du Bellay, Marot, and Saint-Gelais on the same page. And even in such an unimportant matter M. Clément is in error: Fontaine praises Marot on page 82 and page 207 of the *Ruisseaux*, Ronsard and Saint-Gelais on page 198, and Du Bellay on page 199.

Fontaine's admiration for Ronsard, Du Bellay, and their followers was only natural; he had entertained some of their chief ideas before the Brigade was formed. For instance, that he had as lofty an idea of the poet's vocation and believed as firmly in

[1] *Les Ruisseaux*, p. 203.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 199, 200, 201, 209.
[3] *Odes, énigmes, et épigrammes*, p. 66.

hard work as did the author of the *Deffence* [1] is shown by the following lines to Nicole Le Jouvre: [2]

Estimes tu (ô ami) qu'il suffise
De faire vers en mesure comprise
Bien justement, si qu'on n'en puisse oster
De la mesure, ou aussi adjouster ?
Que soit assez d'avoir bon et doux stile,
Termes communs, et langage facile ?
Non, non, ami: il fault grand jugement,
Bon sens rassis, pesant soigneusement
Avec l'oreille, et sans légèreté,
Le son des vers, la grâce et gravité,
Là sont plusieurs inventions requises,
Dignes propos, et sentences exquises:
Si nous voulons qu'ils soient par cy après
Escritz, gardés en cèdre et en cyprès.[3]
Celuy en qui nul savoir ne deffault,
Qui a l'esprit bien divinement hault,
La bouche d'or, et la plume divine,
Luy seul du nom de poète est digne . . .
Brief, ce n'est rien si avec grand science
Ne joint eureuse et longue expérience . . .
Pource l'on doit long temps ses vers garder,
Car il les fault mille foys amander
Et châtier . . .[4]
Sagement, donc, nous fault noz vers parer
De longue main, polir et réparer . . .
Revoir, polir, veiller, les ongles mordre,
Et bien souvent cheveus et barbe tordre.

[1] Cf. *La Deffence*, II, iii: "Qui veut voler par les mains et bouches des hommes, doit longuement demeurer en sa chambre: et qui désire vivre en la mémoire de la postérité, doit comme mort en soymesmes, suer et trembler maintesfois, et autant que notz poètes courtizans boyvent, mangent et dorment à leur oyse, endurer de faim, de soif, et de longues vigiles."

[2] The epistle to Le Jouvre was published in the *Ruisseaux* (1555), p. 30, but it was composed before 1549. François Habert, in his *Premier livre des sermons du sententieux poète Horace* (1549) published an epitaph of Le Jouvre.

[3] Cf. Horace, *Epist. ad Pisones*, 331–332:

speramus carmina fingi
Posse linenda cedro et levi servanda cupresso ?

Other borrowings from Horace are noticeable in this epistle.

[4] In 1537 Fontaine gave the same advice to Sagon and La Hueterie. Cf. pp. 23, 24, above.

A commonplace in the works of Ronsard and Du Bellay is the belief in the divine inspiration of poets. Fontaine entertained the same belief:

> A bien parler qu'est ce que poésie
> Fors une ardante et saincte phrénésie ?
> Comme bien lire en nostre Ovide on peult,
> Dieu est en nous, qui nous eschaufe et meut.[1]

Let us now consider a point which forms the very foundation of the *Deffence*, — the exhortation to French writers to abandon the use of the dead languages, in order that the vulgar tongue might become more vigorous and more ornate.[2] Like Du Bellay, Fontaine was of the opinion that the French language was inferior to Greek and Latin. In an epistle written about 1546 to Jean Orry, a lawyer of Le Mans, he says:

> Aux Tulles, Démosthènes,
> Aux gens savans, soit de Rome ou d'Athènes,
> Je ne suis rien, ou bien peu je leur suis,
> Car de bien loing, ou de rien les ensuis.
> Ilz ont leur veine ou latine ou attique
> Exquise fort: j'ay la mienne rustique
> En mon françoys, qui est moins précieux,
> Et moins orné, diffus, et copieux:
> Parquoy en eux on trouve la semence
> De bien parler, et de grand éloquence,
> Tant leur langage est beau, riche, et hanté:
> (Tel l'ay trouvé quand jeune l'ay gousté).
> Mais en mon rude et tant rural ramage,

[1] *Les Ruisseaux*, p. 8. This passage occurs in an epistle to Francis I, who died in 1547. Cf. Ovid, *Ars Amatoria*, III, 549.

[2] *La Deffence*, I, 1: "... je ne puis assez blâmer la sotte arrogance et témérité d'aucuns de nostre nation, qui n'étans riens moins que Grecz ou Latins, déprisent et rejettent d'un sourcil plus que stoïque toutes choses écrites en françois: et ne me puys assez émerveiller de l'étrange opinion d'aucuns sçavans, qui pensent que nostre vulgaire soit incapable de toutes bonnes lettres et érudition: comme si une invention, pour le languaige seulement devoit estre jugée bonne ou mauvaise." Cf. Ronsard, *Abrégé de l'art poëtique françois*, Blanchemain ed., vol. vii, p. 323: "Quiconques furent les premiers qui osèrent abandonner la langue des anciens pour honorer celle de leur païs, ils furent véritablement bons enfans, et non ingrats citoyens, et dignes d'estre couronnez sur une statue publique, et que d'âge en âge on face une perpétuelle mémoire d'eux et de leurs vertus."

En tout mon faict, escriture, ou langage
Qui bien y voit y trouve seulement
Un lasche cours, vague, sans fondement.
Or ne prenez en mal ou à injure
Ce que j'ay dit parolle un petit dure
Non en faveur de nostre langue: pource
Que vérité, de vertuz mère et source,
Sans aucun blasme, ou affection dire,
Selon propos m'a contraint de ce dire.[1]

Like Du Bellay too, Fontaine not only criticized the French language, but he defended the French language, French poetry, and rime in French poetry. The following extract is taken from an epistle written by Fontaine to his uncle Jean Dugué. Even at such an early date (about 1535)[2] Maître Charles's patriotism was aroused by the scornful attitude of "a few Latins" towards their native speech:

Si vous venez respondre que la ryme
N'a poésie et vers qui soient d'estime,
Et que les vers grecz, latins, italiques
Sont trop meilleurs, et trop plus poétiques,
J'en suis assez de vostre fantaisie:
Mais où sera françoise poésie
Sinon en ryme ? Or en la rejettant
Nous desprisons nostre langue d'autant.
Mais si jadis les Grecs et les Latins
Ont employé maints soirs et maints matins
A composer des vers en leur langage,
Serons nous bien de si lasche courage,
Serons nous bien si rudes et divers
De rejetter et mespriser noz vers ?
Ainsi que font quelques gens eshontez,
Quelques Latins qui n'ont iceux goustez.[3]

[1] *Les Ruisseaux*, p. 249.

[2] Nearly ten years before the publication of the famous dedication of Jacques Peletier's translation of the *Ars Poetica* of Horace. Compare also a poem by Peletier, *A un poète qui n'escrivoit qu'en Latin* (1547), Séché edition of Peletier's works, Paris, 1904, p. 110.

[3] *Les Ruisseaux*, p. 310. Elsewhere Fontaine defends rime; for instance, in a *Remontrance aux détracteurs de poésie françoise* (*ibid.*, p. 98); also, on the same page, *Autre sur ce mesme propos*. These two poems are printed among poems written during the reign of Francis I, and so it is safe to assume that they were com-

Fontaine often gives voice to the same sentiments:

J'escri en françois doucement,
Qui en latin pouvois escrire
Plus amplement et doctement:
Leur langue est plus ample à vray dire:
La nôtre honorer je désire,
Comme ont fait les Latins la leur:
Leur nation n'est plus en fleur,
La nôtre s'en va florissant,
Et croist avec ce grand Croissant
Que nous produist le grand François,
(C'est mon double astre où que je sois,
Et quelque part qu'il vienne ou voise).
Mais ne sommes nous pas François ?
Notre langue est ell' pas françoise ? [1]

Vous vous ébahissez comment
J'escri tant en langue françoise:
Ce n'est faulte de jugement,
Que j'ay petit, dont ce me poise,
Mais un seul mot, sans bruit et noise,
Renverse toutes raisons vostres,
C'est qu'une langue si courtoise
Est nostre, et si fait fruit aux nostres.[2]

When the Pléiade had won the day, Fontaine offered them his hearty encouragement:

Que me font Latins anciens ?
D'eux je tire profit aux miens:
Si les miens n'entendent latin
Profit y auront, bien matin.
Je vous voy, grans esprits de France,
Mettre la France en florissance.
Poursuivez (sus là, hardiment)
En prose et en vers vivement.

posed before 1549. — Ronsard and Du Bellay, Sibilet, Peletier, and Antoine Foclin, recognizing that it was useless to try to write blank verse in French, later shared Fontaine's opinion regarding rime. See *La Deffence*, II, vii: *De la rythme et des vers sans rythme*, and M. Chamard's notes to that chapter.

[1] *Odes, énigmes, et épigrammes*, p. 63: *A la nation françoise.* This poem was probably written after 1549.

[2] *Les Ruisseaux*, p. 116: *L'Auteur à quelques siens amis.* This huitain is grouped with poems written during the reign of Francis I.

Notre langue n'est si barbare
Que dit un latineur ignare.
Plutarque dit: Chacun harangue
Et escrive bien en sa langue.[1]

From the foregoing quotations it may be readily seen that Fontaine had no reason to regard the members of the Pléiade as his enemies or to be envious or jealous of them. He had anticipated several of the reformers' most important teachings: the exalted idea of the poet's vocation and his divine inspiration; the defense of the French language against the "escumeurs de latin"; and the defense of rime. Instead of assuming a hostile attitude towards the Pléiade, as M. Clément would have us believe he did, it was only natural that he should welcome Ronsard, Du Bellay, and their co-workers who, by their genius and authority, gained substantial recognition for principles he had advocated for years.[2]

What was the attitude of Ronsard and Du Bellay towards Fontaine after their cause became firmly established? Did they, when victors, generously forgive him as they forgave other predecessors and contemporaries, including Marot and Saint-Gelais?[3] Neither Ronsard nor Du Bellay ever condescended to honor him with a single verse. For any evidence of forgiveness we must go to the works of one of the most obscure members of the Pléiade, Pontus de Tyard, whose right to stand in the glorious company has been challenged. Even he does not address a line to Fontaine; his good will is shown only by the fact that he permitted Maître Charles to insert a mediocre dizain in his *Discours du temps, de l'an, et de ses parties*.[4]

[1] *Odes, énigmes, et épigrammes*, p. 78: *Aux doctes poètes et orateurs en la langue françoise*. It should be remembered that Fontaine's device was *Hante le françois*, the anagram of his name.

[2] In the following chapter I shall endeavor further to show wherein Fontaine anticipated the theories of the Pléiade.

[3] Concerning the forgiving spirit of the Pléiade, see Émile Roy, *Charles Fontaine et ses amis*, in the *Revue d'Hist. litt. de la France*, 1897, p. 421.

[4] Lyons, 1556.

The silence observed by Ronsard and Du Bellay towards Fontaine is easily explained. Although one of the foremost disciples of Marot, and therefore entitled to his share of forgiveness, it must be borne in mind that for the Pléiade, as for the greater part of their contemporaries, he was the author of the sarcastic *Quintil Horatian*, the only noteworthy response to the *Deffence*. His letter to Jean de Morel was no more credited in 1550 than it is credited by many persons to-day. The haughty Pléiade could not deign to forgive the impertinent poet who, they thought, had dared to hold their preachments up to scorn.

CHAPTER VIII

FONTAINE AND THE PLÉIADE — II

Fontaine and the poetic forms condemned by Du Bellay. — The epigram; influence of Martial. — Fontaine's translations from Sannazaro. — The "familiar and domestic" epistle. — Fontaine and the poetic forms recommended by Du Bellay. — The elegy; influence of Ovid and of other ancient and modern poets. — Petrarchism. — Importance of the *Fontaine d'amour* in the history of the evolution of French poetry. — *Élégie sur le trespas de Catherine Fontaine.* — The ode; influence of Horace and of Ronsard. — The marine eclogue; influence of Sannazaro.

AFTER disparaging his predecessors in French poetry, Du Bellay undertook to tell the future poet what kind of poems he should write:

Ly donques et rely premièrement (ô Poète futur), fueillete de main nocturne et journelle les exemplaires grecz et latins: puis me laisse toutes ces vieilles poésies françoyses aux Jeuz Floraux de Thoulouze et au Puy de Rouan: comme rondeaux, ballades, vyrelaiz, chantz royaulx, chansons, et autres telles épisseries, qui corrumpent le goust de nostre langue, et ne servent si non à porter témoingnaige de notre ignorance. Jette toy à ces plaisans épigrammes, non point comme font aujourd'huy un tas de faiseurs de comtes nouveaux, qui en un dizain sont contens n'avoir rien dict qui vaille aux neuf premiers vers, pourveu qu'au dixiesme il y ait le petit mot pour rire: mais à l'immitation d'un Martial, ou de quelque autre bien approuvé, si la lascivité ne te plaist, mesle le profitable avecques le doulz. Distile . . . ces pitoyables élégies, à l'exemple d'un Ovide, d'un Tibule et d'un Properce, y entremeslant quelquesfois de ces fables anciennes, non petit ornement de poésie. Chante moy ces odes, incongnues encor' de la Muse françoyse . . . Quand aux épistres, ce n'est un poème qui puisse grandement enrichir nostre vulgaire, pource qu'elles sont voluntiers de choses familières et domestiques, si tu ne les voulois faire à l'immitation d'élégies, comme Ovide, ou sentencieuses et graves, comme Horace. Autant te dy je des satyres, que les François, je ne scay comment, ont apellées coqz à l'asne: ès quelz je te conseille aussi peu t'exercer . . . Sonne moy ces beaux sonnetz, non moins docte que plaisante invention italienne . . . Chante moy d'une musette bien résonnante et d'une fluste bien jointe ces plaisantes ecclogues rustiques, à l'exemple de Théocrit et de Virgile, marines, à l'exemple de Sennazar, gentilhomme néapolitain . . . Quand aux comédies et tragédies, . . . tu sçais où tu en doibs trouver les archétypes.[1]

[1] *La Deffence*, II, iv. In the following chapter, Du Bellay treats the "long poème françoys," or epic.

Let us now examine the forms of poetry used by Charles Fontaine in order to see whether he employed the French forms so hotly denounced by Du Bellay, and whether he employed any of the classical and Italian forms recommended by him.

Some of the "épisseries" ridiculed by Du Bellay may be immediately dropped from consideration. Fontaine came too late to compose *rondeaux* and *virelais*, which were no longer in vogue, or *ballades* and *chants royaux*, which were in their last decline; nor did he compose *chansons* or *coq-à-l'âne*. Of the forms condemned by Du Bellay, there remain to be considered, then, only the epigram and the "domestic and familiar" epistle.

In the first half of the sixteenth century two kinds of epigrams were popular in France, the one attacked by Du Bellay — dizains made up of nine worthless verses and a tenth with "le petit mot pour rire"; the other described thus by M. Buisson: "On les intitulait alors *Epigrammata*, ce qui ne désignait nullement des épigrammes, pas même de celles 'qui ont des dents de lait,' mais simplement des pièces de circonstance, billets en vers, morceaux applaudis la veille en petit comité."[1]

A number of epigrams by Fontaine of the kind described by M. Buisson have already been reproduced in this study. However, in order to focus attention upon their nature, a few specimens will be cited here. To a lady of Lyons, Fontaine sent the following verses, together with a copy of *Amadis de Gaule:*

Ce livre que je vous envoye
N'est à la court moins estimé
Que celuy qui se met en voye
Est de vostre cueur bien aymé:
Amadis de Gaule est nommé,
Qui fut preux aux amours et armes:
Aussi vostre cueur bien armé
N'est sans amours ny sans alarmes.[2]

[1] F. Buisson, *Sébastien Castellion*, vol. i, p. 29. M. Buisson is speaking of Latin epigrams, but those in French are of the same character. Strange to say, Du Bellay did not attack this kind of epigram, perhaps the commonest type of "épisserie."

[2] *La Fontaine d'amour.*

Information relating to the history of the time is to be found in such pieces as the *Resjouyssance au commun peuple pour ceste année, mil cinq cents xlv:*

Resjouis toy, ô populaire,
Qui tous ces jours fus tant fasché:
Resjouis toy, je te déclaire
Que ton mal sera relasché:
Tu auras à meilleur marché
Le pain, le vin, et leur sequelle,
Par cest an qui se renouvelle:
Dieu te donne un regard propice,
Et le Roy fait une nouvelle
Ordonnance sur la police.[1]

In one of his gayer moods, Maître Charles shows some feeling (more or less conventional) for nature:

Ruisseaux courants entre les buissonnetz,
Avecq doux bruit resjouyssants l'oreille,
Et vous aussi, mes gentilz sansonnetz,
Tarins, serins, rossignolz mignonnetz,
Qui découpez de grâce nompareille
Mille motetz gracieux à merveille,
Vous m'incitez avecques voz sons netz
Chanter chansons, ballades et sonnetz,
Et puys haulser le cul de ma bouteille.[2]

Fontaine gives a lesson in natural science *A un quidam, affermant que le soleil n'est essenciellement chault:*

Le plus grand ciel par son grand mouvement
Cerne le monde en un naturel jour:
Lune et soleil vont plus tardivement,
Et chacun d'eux à part soy fait son tour,
Qui est divers à ce ravissement.
Le plus hault ciel, à ton sot jugement,
Devroit trop plus donques luire et flammer:
Et pourroit bien, mouvant si roidement,
Tout l'univers destruire et enflammer.[3]

[1] *La Fontaine d'amour.* For a similar piece, see Marot, *De l'an 1544*, Jannet edition, vol. iii, p. 101. Cf. also the huitain, *Aux Compaignons imprimeurs de la ville de Paris*, p. 135, above.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Odes, énigmes, et épigrammes*, p. 81.

Let us now consider the kind of epigram censured by Du Bellay — the dizain, the first nine verses of which serve only as padding before the tenth, " le petit mot pour rire." But is Du Bellay consistent ? After condemning such epigrams, he suggests Martial or " quelque autre bien approuvé " as a model for future epigrammatists. Do not his scornful nine worthless verses plus " le petit mot pour rire " apply to many of Martial's epigrams ? [1] However that may be, Fontaine wrote epigrams of the sort ridiculed by Du Bellay, and it is certain that he used Martial as a model, although it is impossible to determine whether directly or through the medium of Marot.[2]

The epigrams influenced by Martial all appeared in the *Fontaine d'amour*,[3] which was first published in 1545, four years

[1] Compare, for instance, Clément Marot's translation of an epigram by Martial, *De la tristesse de s'amye*, Jannet edition, vol. iii, p. 97 (Martial, vii, 14), with an original epigram by Marot, *D'un cordelier*, Jannet edition, vol. iii, p. 104. It will be seen that the methods of the two poets are identical. Martial's original epigram, Marot's translation, and Marot's original are all dizains. In this connection, the influence upon French poets of the Italian sonneteers and strambottists, who often concentrated the point of their poems in the last verse, must, of course, be taken into consideration.

[2] That Fontaine was acquainted with Marot's translation of a handful of Martial's epigrams is shown by the following quatrain, which appeared among the epigrams of the *Fontaine d'amour:*

Marcial, le gentil poète,
Parle françoys beau et plaisant,
En maint épigramme luysant:
A Marot en devons la dète.

Guillaume Roville, in the preface to his fourth edition of Marot's works (1550), says that Fontaine helped him to rearrange some of Marot's epigrams in imitation of Martial (cf. p. 138, above). In the *Ruisseaux*, p. 70, Fontaine says:

Si Martial est renommé
Épigrammataire gentil,
Pour avoir son temps consumé
Et maint épigramme subtil,
Pour quoy donc ne sera l'outil
De ma françoise Muse aymée
Renommé ? Encores eust il
La pointe un petit moins limée ?

In an ode to the Cardinal de Chastillon (*Odes, énigmes, et épigrammes*, p. 27), Fontaine speaks of himself as " poète épigrammataire."

[3] Martial is quoted in the dedicatory letter (cf. p. 186, below).

before the *Deffence*. At this time, Maître Charles's conception of the epigram coincided with that of Martial. The Latin poet himself could not have characterized his own verses in a more pithy manner than Fontaine does epigrams in general in these lines to the reader of the *Fontaine d'amour:*

Les épigrammes ont licence
Et de poindre et de chatouiller:
Et pourtant l'ignorant ne pense
De me venir cy barbouiller
Que trop mes vers je vien souiller,
Et que j'offense les oreilles.
L'épigramme est mal acoustré
S'il ne poingt. Mais voicy merveilles,
Qui vid oncq' Priapus chastré ? [1]

The following malicious warning to the woman readers of the *Fontaine d'amour* is also quite in Martial's vein:

Gardez vous de toucher ce livre,
Mes dames, il parle d'amours:
C'est aux hommes que je le livre,
Que l'on tient plus constants tousjours.
Laissez l'aller vers eulx son cours:
A eulx, et non à vous, est deu:
Mais vous le lirez nuictz et jours,
Puis que je vous l'ay défendu.[2]

Unlike Marot, Fontaine did not make use of the subjects of any of Martial's epigrams; his imitation was confined solely to the method of composition: sketches of personal foibles, interspersed with malicious touches and some obscenity. For example:

[1] Cf. Martial, xi, 2:

Triste supercilium durique severa Catonis
Frons et aratoris filia Fabricia,
Et personati fastus et regula morum
Quidquid et in tenebris non sumus, ite foras, etc.

[2] Cf. Martial, xi, 16:

Tu quoque nequitias nostri lususque libelli
Uda puella legas, sis Patavina licet.
Erubuit posuitque meum Lucretia librum;
Sed coram Bruto; Brute, recede; leget.

A un grand bavard

L'eau tombant du ciel bien menue
Par temps et par expérience
Les cailloux cave et diminue,
Combien qu'ilz soient de dure essence.
La terre qui prend patience
Use son soc par grands journées:
Les arbres usent leurs coignées:
Mais ton babil plein de harengue,
Et tes motz de longues menées,
N'ont jamais peu user ta langue.

A celuy qui avoit peur de mourir

Quand malade au lict tu seras,
Voyre à l'article de la mort:
Sçais tu (monsieur) que tu feras,
Pour faire à la mort un grand tord,
Et faire à santé ton acord ?
Ne cherche médecins exquis:
Ne soient apothicaires quis:
Mais pour chemin plus brief du tiers,
Fay moy, sur tes amys aquis,
Le plus grand de tes héritiers.

A un beau prometeur, qui ce pendant faisoit l'amour

Tu me prometz de tes habits,
Tu me prometz ton dyamant:
Tu me prometz ton beau rubis,
Et puys tu trenches de l'amant.
Lors comme la pierre d'aymant
Tire le fer, certes ainsi
Tes voysines tirent aussi
Anneaux, habitz. Je me repens
Que premier ne prins tout cecy:
Tu le fais trop à mes despens.[1]

Besides the epigrams in imitation of Martial, Fontaine inserted among the epigrams of the *Fontaine d'amour* four translations of

[1] See also the epigram *A Monsieur Maurice Scève* (p. 64, above), which appeared in the *Fontaine d'amour*. The malicious touch in the final verse is quite in keeping with Martial's manner of criticizing the writings of others. — I shall refrain from citing specimens of Fontaine's obscene epigrams. Suffice it to say that they are quite as broad as similar epigrams by Martial or by Marot.

Latin epigrams by Jacopo Sannazaro, with two or three exceptions the earliest borrowings by a French writer from the works of the author of the *Arcadia*.[1] Sannazaro's poems, with Fontaine's versions, follow:

De Galla

Omnes quos scripsi versus vult Galla videre,
Mittam ego, pro libris si mihi labra dabit.[2]

De Catin

Catin se plainct, Catin se deult
Qu'elle ne voit tous mes escriptz!
Et dit, je veulx que me les livres,
Puis quand j'entends ses plaintz et cris,
Je suis content s'elle me veult
Donner ses lèbvres pour mes livres.

De Thelesinae crinibus

Dum nectit flavos auro Thelesina capillos,
Contraxit radios Phoebus et erubuit.
Mox haec ad superos: en auro iungitur aurum:
Hoc est mortales, hoc superare deos.[3]

De Catin

Ainsi comme Catin se mire
En peignant son beau chef doré,
Le soleil vient droit dessus luyre,
Et ha si beau chef adoré.

Autre

Par un matin Catin se mire
En peignant son beau chef doré,
Mais le soleil ses rays retire
De dueil qu'il ha et de grand ire,
De veoir un chef si bien paré.

[1] C. Ruutz-Rees, *Charles Fontaine's "Fontaine d'amour" and Sannazaro*, in *Modern Language Notes*, March, 1912. The author of this excellent article conjectures that Fontaine became acquainted with Sannazaro's works during his Italian journey (cf. pp. 47 ff., above). Fr. Torraca, in *Gl'Imitatori stranieri di Jacopo Sannazaro*, second edition, Rome, 1882, makes no mention of Fontaine's borrowings from Sannazaro.

[2] *Jacobi Sannazarii opera omnia latine scripta nuper edita*, Aldus, 1535, fol. 39 r°.

[3] *Ibid.*, fol. 52 v°.

Ad Vesbiam

Aspice quam variis distringar Vesbia curis.
Uror, et heu! nostro manat ab igne liquor:
Sum Nilus, sumque Aetna simul: restringite flammam,
O lacrimae, lacrimas ebibe flamma meas.[1]

De Amour qui faict feu et eau

Je m'esbahy qu'en eau ne suis fondu,
Qui n'ay jamais les povres joues seiches:
Plus m'esbahy qu'amour ne m'a rendu
Tout converti en cendres et flammesches,
Aussi aisé comme petites mesches.
Je suis le Nil, et suis le mont Etna.
Etna, pourtant qu'au monde tel feu n'a:
Le Nil, pourtant que je fondz tout en pleurs.
Feu, boy ces pleurs qu'amour me résigna,
Pleurs, restraignez ce feu et ces chaleurs.

The other form of poetry condemned by the *Deffence* and used by Fontaine, the "familiar and domestic" epistle, was not, according to Du Bellay, capable of enriching the French language to a great extent. Is it not possible that the enthusiasm of the youthful reformer and an overweening desire to belittle his predecessors render him unreasonable? Surely Clément Marot's charming epistle to Lyon Jamet, "the lion and the rat," and the epistle *Au Roy, pour avoir esté desrobé* cannot be cast aside as worthless.[2]

Fontaine wrote about a dozen "familiar and domestic" epistles. They are usually addressed to friends, and deal with the events of everyday life, the health of the poet, gossip, with occasional remarks on poetry. At times Maître Charles discusses more lofty themes, as in the *Épître, philosophant sur la*

[1] *Jacobi Sannazarii opera omnia latine scripta nuper edita*, Aldus, 1535, fol. 43 v°.

[2] Cf. A. Tilley, *The Literature of the French Renaissance*, vol. i, p. 75: "The Epistles are perhaps Marot's most characteristic work. Other poets have written songs as natural, as tender, and as graceful, but in these familiar Epistles, with their rapid movement, their picturesque and yet concentrated language, their liveliness and wit and humor, he has certainly never been surpassed, and has probably never been equalled, in modern times."

bonne amour,[1] and in the epistle *A une dame, pour la consoler sur la mort de son mary*.[2] Two of Fontaine's epistles are inscribed to Francis I and to Renée de France.[3] Extracts from the more familiar kind have already been cited in connection with Fontaine's correspondence with his uncle Jean Dugué,[4] and further extracts will be given later in treating what Fontaine calls the *Passetemps des amis*, a series of epistles exchanged by him and a group of friends.[5] Fontaine's familiar epistles are of little worth as poetry, but, like the greater part of his epigrams, they are valuable for the light they throw on their author and on the period in which he lived.[6]

Let us now turn to the poetic forms proposed by Du Bellay as substitutes for those which he declared were still employed by his contemporaries, in order that we may ascertain whether Fontaine made use of them before the appearance of the *Deffence*, or whether, after its appearance, he tried to profit by its teachings.

Some of the forms advocated by Du Bellay may be eliminated at once; Fontaine did not employ the satire, the sonnet,[7] the rustic eclogue, the epic, comedy, and tragedy. There remain the epigram in imitation of Martial; the elegy in imitation of Ovid, Tibullus, and Propertius; the epistle in imitation of Horace and Ovid; the ode; and the marine eclogue in imitation of Sannazaro. The epigram in imitation of Martial has been treated above. The other forms will now be taken up in order.

In his elegies (twenty-four in number — twenty-two of which are in the *Fontaine d'amour*, — to which must be added nineteen epistles in the *Fontaine d'amour*),[8] Fontaine was influenced by the

[1] Pp. 100 ff., above.
[2] *Les Ruisseaux*.
[3] Pp. 44 and 50, above.
[4] Pp. 9 ff., above.
[5] Pp. 210 ff., below.
[6] Fontaine's familiar epistles were all published in 1555, in the *Ruisseaux*, but they were written many years earlier.
[7] A sonnet, of which Fontaine was probably not the author, was published in the last edition of Fontaine's *XXI Épistres d'Ovide* (1580).
[8] Cf. Sibilet, *Art poëtique*, II, vii: " Marot en ses œuvres, ou l'imprimeur en son nom, a distingué et mis à part les épistres en un reng, et les élégies en un autre.

Amores of Ovid, by Catullus,[1] and possibly by Tibullus and Propertius; by Clément Marot, Mellin de Saint-Gelais, and other French poets with strong " gaulois " characteristics; also perhaps by some of the Neo-Latin writers, such as Pontanus and Secundus. Then, too, the elegies and the epistles of the *Fontaine d'amour* are often couched in a Petrarchistic style, with a sprinkling of *concetti*, which proves that Maître Charles picked up in Italy something besides the four epigrams by Sannazaro.

Fontaine imitated with fair success the elegy in which Ovid laments the death of the marvellous parrot he had presented to his Corinna.[2] In his imitation, Fontaine departs somewhat from the time-honored theme — the death of a pet. The dog of one of his woman friends has been stolen, and there is a suspicion that Maître Charles is the culprit. After heaping flattery on the lady for her grace and beauty, Fontaine begins praising the lost dog, and in what terms! Only the torments visited upon Actaeon and Linus could suffice to punish the wretch guilty of pilfering such a matchless dog. It will be noticed that Corinna's parrot and Lesbia's sparrow are mentioned in Fontaine's poem.

. . . Où est celuy, tant soit il inhumain,
Qui avansast sa malheureuse main
Pour en rien nuyre à telle dame honneste,
Ou pour rober le chien qui luy fait feste ? . . .
Veu doncq l'acueil que m'a fait, et l'honneur,
Serois je pas trop plein de déshonneur
De la vouloir par mon crime estranger,
Luy faisant pis qu'un barbare estranger ?
Luy tollissant ce que tant cher elle a,
Le petit chien qui la suyt çà et là,
Le petit chien, son cueur, s'amour, sa vie,

Toutesfois la différence en est tant petite, qu'il t'y faut aviser de bien près pour la discerner."

[1] Ovid and Catullus, as well as Martial, are quoted in the dedication of the *Fontaine d'amour* (cf. p. 185, below).

[2] *Amores*, ii, 6. Ovid's elegy is an imitation of the lament of Catullus over Lesbia's sparrow. In the sixteenth century French poets vied with each other in writing elegies in honor of pets of all kinds — dogs, cats, parrots, sparrows, weasels, etc. Concerning such poems, see the Blanchemain edition of Saint-Gelais's works, vol. i, p. 57, and p. 60, note 1.

Le petit chien qui l'a tousjours suyvie,
Qui la cognoist mieux qu'Argus Ulyssès,[1]
Et la perdant n'a jamais les yeux secz:
Le petit chien, qui en son japement
Chante encor plus que Graucis doucement,
Digne d'avoir (tant il est beau et saige)
De Publius la chienne en mariage:
Le petit chien d'amour tant bonne et pure,
Digne d'avoir après mort sépulture
Avecq la chienne (hélas) d'Atalenta,
Que le sanglier trop cruel adenta,
Digne d'avoir sa déploracion
Et sa louange et décoracion
Avecq l'oyseau de l'amye à Catulle
Et perroquet qu'Ovide y acumule.
Mais que me vault purger de tel meffait,
Veu qu'on sçait bien que je ne l'ay pas fait ?
Si je l'ay fait, et commis telle offence,
Je sois mengé des chiens pour récompense:
Deschiquetants tous mes membres menuz,
Comme jadis Actéon et Linus.
Or cognoist on par évidente yssue
Qu'on a sur moy opinion conceuë
A bien grand tord, et par trop faulsement:
Vous le sçavez (Dame) premièrement,
Dame du cas, à qui la chose touche,
Dame du chien qui lèche vostre bouche,
Que pleust à Dieu que je disse aussi bien,
Dame de moy, comme dame du chien.
Vous l'avez doncq recouvré, Dieu mercy:
Le chien est vostre, et je le suis aussi:
Voire le suis, encor que ne vouliez,
Et qu'en rigueur tout au contraire alliez:
Vostre je suis à vous faire plaisir
Mieux que le chien qu'avecq vous voy gésir.[2]

In the following extract Petrarchistic exaggeration is most pronounced:

N'y a il point quelque pitié en femme ?
A tout le moins en celle qui enflamme
Si fort mon cueur, que la grande chaleur

[1] The classical allusions in this and other poems of the *Fontaine d'amour* are noteworthy.

[2] *La Fontaine d'amour*, Elegy ix.

Redondera à son très grand malheur ?
Malheur très grand, si la pluye de grâce
Dedans brief temps ne l'estaint et efface:
Car si tousjours il se veult allumer,
Avant huict jours me pourroit consumer.
Puis en la fin par cruelle vengeance
Tourner sur elle, et sans quelque alégeance
Luy consumer cueur, corps, mammelle, et taint.
Ainsi soit il, si elle ne l'estaint,
Quand elle peult, à fin que me resemble,
Et que soyons tous deux bruslez ensemble
D'un mesme feu plus grand que cil d'Ethna.[1]

In the following two passages a commonplace theme is ornamented with a dash of Petrarchistic phraseology, the effect of which is very pleasing:

Comment pourrois en ce papier descrire
Qu'à la lueur de sept ou huict flambeaux
Voy tes tetins qui me semblent tant beaux ?
Ton nez longuet, tes joues vermeillettes,
Ton beau taint frais plus que n'ont les fillettes ?
Ton large front et ton col cristalin,
Aussi le bord des lèvres couralin ?
Tes yeux riants conduitz de telle forme
Que tu n'as rien sur toy qui te difforme ?
Comment aussi mettrois en prose ou vers
Que je te voy les yeux demy ouvers
Tourner vers moy, sans aucun semblant faire,
Qui m'y sembloient parler de quelque affaire
A cil qui est de franc cueur escrivant,
Souz grand espoir d'estre bien arrivant ?[2]

Le plaisant taint de ta luysante face,
Ton large front et ton col cristalin,
Ton tetin blanc, qu'on void souz crespe ou lin
Bien délié, ta lèvre rouge et saine,
Dont vient et prend son petit cours alaine
Tant souefve et douce, et tes dorez cheveux,
Ton corps bien fait, etc.[3]

[1] *La Fontaine d'amour*, Elegy xxi. It is impossible to determine what Italian poets besides Sannazaro influenced Fontaine. He was probably acquainted, however, with the works of Cariteo, Tebaldeo, and Serafino dall' Aquila.

[2] *Ibid.*, Elegy i. [3] *Ibid.*, Elegy xii.

Sheer sensuality is the keynote of some of the elegies and epistles; for example, Fontaine writes to a lady with whom he has danced:

Mais penses tu qu'on peust mettre en escrit
Comment je t'oy parler de grand esprit ?
Comment te voy vestue et comment nue ?
Comment te voy de corps gente et menue ?
Comment en cote et comment en chemise ?
Comment ma main sur ta chair blanche est mise ?
Comment je tien ton tetin bien refait ?
Tu m'en croyras, on n'auroit jamais fait.
Plume n'y a qui le peust bien escrire,
Ny orateur qui le peust bien descrire.[1]

To another lady Fontaine expresses himself thus:

Car de quoy sert faire tant de menées,
Tant de fatras, et tant de pourmenées ?
Tant deviser, quand on ne vient au poinct ?
Tant requerir, quand on n'acorde point ?
Tant espérer, quand au bien on n'atouche ?
Trop tire en vain qui onc au blanc ne touche.[2]

Elsewhere Fontaine shows that persistency in love is not to his liking:

Mais que me sert de faire long procès,
Pour envers toy avoir meilleur accès ?
Ce n'est mon fait, ce n'est point ma coustume:
Donne congé, si tu veux, à ma plume,
Amour de femme onques ne m'a tenté
De la poursuyvre oultre sa volunté.[3]

[1] *La Fontaine d'amour*, Epistle iii.

[2] *Ibid.*, Elegy iv.

[3] *Ibid.*, Elegy ii. Compare an epigram of the *Fontaine d'amour*, *A une dame qui différoit trop:*

Fy de longtemps faire aux dames la court:
J'ayme qu'on m'ayme, et qu'on le face court.

In another epigram of the *Fontaine d'amour*, *Contre amour*, Fontaine condemns love completely:

Amour, fuy t'en au loing de moy,
Avecq tous tes banquetz et pompes:
Tu n'es que dueil, peine, et esmoy,
Et le meilleur en fin tu trompes.

Maître Charles's idea of the mission of woman, as expressed in most of the poems of the *Fontaine d'amour*, is summed up in these words:

> Aussi la femme est créature faite,
> A fin que l'homme elle récrée et traite.[1]

Occasionally, however, virtue is the burden of his song:[2]

> Car de vertu je veux estre servant,
> Et la vertu je ne veux jamais taire.
> Tu es le chef et le vray exemplaire
> De tout honneur, beauté, grâce, sçavoir.
> O grand miroir où tout bien se peult voir![3]

> Mais il fault dire, et la chose est bien vraye,
> Que voz vertuz m'ont fait ceste grand' playe.
> Le coup est grand, et plus grand qu'il ne semble,
> Car il me navre esprit et corps ensemble . . .
> Vostre esprit bon, vostre ferme mémoire,
> Vostre constance et grand' vertu notoire,
> Vostre douceur et humble privauté,
> Vostre cueur plein de grande loyauté,
> Vostre sagesse et bonne contenance,
> Me font de vous l'amour et souvenance . . .
> Ah! dit mon cueur, fault il que sa vertu
> Me rende ainsi confus et abatu ?
> O Dieu! fault il (voicy une grand' chose)
> Que son grand bien soit de mon grand mal cause ?[4]

Now and then Maître Charles is grossly materialistic; for instance, when he thanks a lady whom he had accompanied to a dance for the excellent food they had received:

[1] *La Fontaine d'amour*, Epistle xix.

[2] In an epigram of the *Fontaine d'amour*, *Au lecteur*, Fontaine says that he does not wish to sing of sensual love and of virtue in the same volume:

> Estre ne veux en mesme livre
> Spirituel et terrien:
> Puis l'amour, puis la vertu suyvre,
> Brouillant le mal avecq le bien.
> Mais les anciens le font bien,
> Qui ont vescu tant bien prospères.
> De tout cela n'ignore rien:
> Mais je ne veux suyvre mes pères.

[3] *Ibid.*, Epistle ii.

[4] *Ibid.*, Elegy xxii.

O quelle grande chère
Là on nous fait! Un chacun met enchère
A qui mieux mieux, surviennent metz sur metz:
De te servir sur tout je m'entremetz:
Et quand ce vint à présenter l'yssue,
En vismes un le ventre au feu qui sue.
Après les metz partiz deçà, delà,
Chacun repeu, nous levasmes de là,
Ayants bien veu les jardins et mesnage . . .
Mais partant de ce lieu,
En mon chemin je vous fis mon à Dieu
De bouche, et plus de cueur, et de bon zèle,
Disant en moy: Ç'a esté de par elle,
Qu'au lieu plaisant avons esté traitez,
Et qu'on nous a si bons metz aprestez.[1]

At times Fontaine, the strict disciple of Clément Marot, appears; for example, when he denies that Cupid and lovers are blind, — lines which must remind the reader of the *Response* to Papillon's *Victoire et triumphe d'Argent* and of parts of the *Contr'amye de Court:*

C'est bien menty, c'est bien menty de dire . . .
Que Cupido a les deux yeux bendez,
Si que jamais ne luy sont débendez,
Et mesmement que les deux yeux il bende
A toutes gents, lesquelz sont de sa bende,
Veu qu'il n'y a ça bas plus cler voyants,
Ny plus au vif leur regard employants.
Ne voyent ilz sur chevalier ou dame
Le moindre si, qui face ou corps diffame ?
Ne voyent ilz, etc.[2]

Fontaine even lapses so much into the old style that he resorts to allegory:

Belle, pour qui à tord suis acusé,
Et toutesfois de nul suis excusé,
Fors de celuy qui seul cognoist les cueurs:
Ne vois tu point je ne sçay quelz moqueurs . . .
Qui ton amant me viennent surnommer ? . . .
Si celle là par qui récompense a
Cil qu'on acuse à grand tord et sans cause,

[1] *La Fontaine d'amour*, Elegy iii. [2] *Ibid.*, Elegy vii.

Dame Raison, avoit ouÿ la cause
Par Vérité, nostre bonne avocate,
Retireroit soudain sa faulse pate
Fol Jugement, l'avocat aversaire,
Ou plainement seroit trouvé faulsaire.[1]

The *Fontaine d'amour*, which contains these elegies and epistles, as well as Fontaine's epigrams in imitation of Martial, his translation of four epigrams by Sannazaro, and several references to his Italian journey, is, as M. Laumonier remarks, " très important pour l'histoire de l'évolution de la poésie française dans les dix années qui ont précédé l'apparition des premières œuvres de l'école érudite de 1550. Le ton érotique et mythologique de ce recueil est assez souvent déjà celui auquel Ronsard se haussa." [2] Fontaine, as we have seen, was aware of the sportive, licentious nature of his work. In the dedicatory epistle to the Duke of Orléans, he says:

J'ay pris la hardiesse de vous offrir ce présent petit livret, contenant aucuns esbatz et passetemps de ma petite Muse en sa jeunesse.[3] Mais si quelques gents d'esprit stoïques, et de jugement trop sévères, me veulent

[1] *La Fontaine d'amour*, Elegy x. Practically all the elegies and epistles of the *Fontaine d'amour* are addressed to women. The themes include the following: praise of the beauty of various women; praise of Cupid and of love; praise of dancing as an amusement; praise of maternity as compared with virginity; tortures of love; cruelty of the beloved; rebuke of a faithless maiden; grief at separation from the beloved; request for a rendezvous; the poet complains that a lady refuses to write to him; the poet reminds a lady that they used to play together when children, and exhorts her to love him now.

[2] P. Laumonier, *Ronsard poète lyrique*, p. 93, note 2. M. Laumonier (*ibid.*, p. 616) mentions, among other works, the *Fontaine d'amour* as containing " courtes pièces, de goût moitié gaulois, moitié précieux, . . . ayant à divers degrés subi l'influence de Théocrite, de l'*Anthologie*, de Catulle, de Martial, d'Ausone, et suivi le mouvement de la Renaissance néo-latine et italienne." In another passage (*ibid.*, p. 293) M. Laumonier says: " Nous avons vu qu'en dépit de ses affirmations réitérées il [Ronsard] n'était pas le premier à transplanter dans le sol national des fleurs étrangères pour les y acclimater. Lemaire de Belges, Clément Marot, Hugues Salel, Mellin de Saint-Gelais, Lazare de Baïf, Charles Fontaine, Despériers et Peletier . . . l'avaient devancé dans cette voie."

[3] Elsewhere in the dedicatory epistle Fontaine speaks of the poems of the *Fontaine d'amour* as " les choses imparfaites que j'ay escrites en ma grande jeunesse "; and in Epistle i he writes similarly. Despite these declarations, there is no doubt

reprendre de mettre en lumière ces petites choses joyeuses, traitans d'amours, je leur puis respondre que je ne suis seul, ny le premier. Car les anciens et modernes, tant Françoys que Latins, l'ont bien fait sans aucune répréhension, ains avecq fruict et honneur.

In the same epistle, Maître Charles contends that it is possible for a poet to write of "voluptez et lascivitez" without being guilty of impudicity:

Aussi ne doit on pas légièrement juger de la personne qui escrit telles choses d'amour, joyeuses et récréatives, plus que vicieuses: principalement d'un poète, en l'esprit duquel y a tousjours je ne sçay quoy de gayeté naturelle, sans laquelle (j'ose dire) ne se peult appeler poète: et de là vient que anciennement les poètes ont feint et inventé plusieurs choses plaisantes pour avoir matière et occasion d'escrire: comme des Nymphes des bois, des fleurs, des fleuves, des neuf Muses, qui s'entretiennent par la main et dansent sur la verdure, du mont Hélicon et de Parnassus, d'Apollon qui joue de la harpe, de Bacchus tousjours jeune et joyeux, de Vénus, de Cupido, de Pan, des Faunes, et des Satyres, qui ont avec eux quelques voluptez et lascivitez non à despriser en poésie.

To support his contention that a poet's life may be pure in spite of his licentious verses Fontaine cites Catullus:

Nam castum esse decet pium poetam
Ipsum; versiculos nihil necesse est.[1]

Ovid:

Crede mihi, mores distant a carmine nostro:
Vita verecunda est, Musa jocosa mihi.

that nearly all the poems of the *Fontaine d'amour* were written during or after his Italian journey, that is, during or after his twenty-sixth year. Elegy xxii and several epigrams contain references to the Italian journey; the greater part of the epigrams are inscribed to people of Lyons, where Fontaine took up his residence immediately after the Italian journey; and, finally, the influence of Italian writers is evident in many of the poems. Ronsard, in the dedication of his *Livret de Folastries* (April, 1553), a work certainly influenced by the *Fontaine d'amour*, also says that his "sornettes" and "mignardes chansonnettes," his "vers raillars," were composed when he was a "jeune garson"; Marc-Antoine de Muret, in his *Juvenilia* (1552), alleges youth as an excuse for the broadness of his verses; and the preface of Marot's *Adolescence Clémentine* (1532) begins thus: "Je ne sçay . . . qui m'a plus incité à mettre ces miennes petites jeunesses en lumière . . . Ce sont œuvres de jeunesse, ce sont coups d'essay."

[1] It is interesting to know that Ronsard later placed this distich on the title page of his *Livret de Folastries*.

Martial:

Lasciva est nobis pagina, vita proba est.

And Hadrian's epitaph on the poet Voconius:

Lascivus versu, mente pudicus eras.

Despite the influence of the elegies of the *Fontaine d'amour* on Ronsard's *Livret de Folastries*, it is certain that they were not the kind of elegies Du Bellay wished the future poet to write. In recommending Ovid as a model, he had in mind not the lighter poems of the *Amores*,[1] but the doleful *Tristia* and *Epistolae e Ponto*, or, in the *Amores*, the elegy on the death of Tibullus[2] — "pitiful elegies," embellished with mythology.

Of the last named poem Fontaine composed a highly successful imitation, *Élégie sur le trespas de Catherine Fontaine, sœur de l'autheur*.[3] All the characteristics of Ovid's elegy are found in Fontaine's: the lofty tone; the impression of the true sorrow of the poet somewhat marred by literary artificiality; the abundance of mythological references; the lamentations; and the description of pagan mourning and funeral rites. In only one instance does Fontaine use anything like the exact phraseology of Ovid. His imitation is as perfect an example of the free imitation recommended by Du Bellay as can be found before the Pléiade. Maître Charles devoured, digested, and assimilated Ovid's poem, and then tried to write a similar poem. When the definitive history of the revival of pagan ideas in the French Renaissance is written, Fontaine's elegy on the death of his sister, as well as the *Fontaine d'amour*, must be taken into account. Fontaine's elegy, with some parallel citations from Ovid's, follows:

[1] Sibilet, who thought Marot a better model for elegies than Ovid, recommended the *Amores* (*Art poëtique*, II, vii): "Or si tu requiers exemples d'élégies, propose toy pour formulaire celles d'Ovide escrittes en ses trois livres d'*Amours:* ou mieus ly les élégies de Marot: desquelles la bonne part représente tant vivement l'image d'Ovide, qu'il ne s'en faut que la parole du naturel."

[2] III, 9.

[3] Although published in the *Ruisseaux* (1555), p. 49, this poem was written either during or shortly after Fontaine's Italian journey (about 1540). Concerning Catherine Fontaine, see p. 53, note 2, above.

Las, elle est morte, elle est en terre mise,
Celle que Dieu, voire seule, a permise
Vivre avec moy, après tout frère et sœur,
Et après père et mère: or est il seur,
Las, elle est morte, et en terre boutée.[1]
Mercure avec sa verge redoutée
De tous esprits, Mercure, aimé des dieux,
Son cler esprit a conduit ès hauts cieux.[2]
Arrière pleurs donques, Fontaine, arrière:
Pourquoy es tu convertie en rivière ?
Or say je bien que quand je chanterois
Mieux qu'Orpheus,[3] ne la retirerois
De la puissance et charge de Mercure,
Qui, en ce cas, de m'exausser n'a cure:
Et si say bien qu'elle a son mal vaincu,
Par qui elle a plus languy que vescu
Cinq ou six ans: mais l'amour fraternelle
Ne me sauroit deffaillir envers elle.
C'est ceste amour qui l'arrose en mes pleurs,
Et l'arrosant augmente mes douleurs:
C'est ceste amour, sur toutes principale,
Qui m'a rendu esplouré, triste, et palle:
C'est ceste amour, que nature enracine,
Qui de mon poing fait batre ma poictrine,
Et qui me fait avec pleurs souspirer,
Tant que ne puis mon aleine tirer.[4]
Si Aurora et Téthys, grans déesses,
Du ciel et mer régentes et princesses,
Ont tant pleuré Achilles et Memnon,[5]

[1] Ille tui vates operis, tu fama, Tibullus
Ardet in extructo, corpus inane, rogo.

[2] Si tamen e nobis aliquid nisi nomen et umbra
Restat, in Elysia valle Tibullus erit.

[3] Quid pater Ismario, quid mater profuit Orpheo ?
Carmine quid victas obstipuisse feras ?

[4] Ecce, puer Veneris fert eversamque pharetram
Et fractos arcus et sine luce facem;
Adspice, demissis ut eat miserabilis alis
Pectoraque infesta tundat aperta manu;
Excipiunt lacrimas sparsi per colla capilli,
Oraque singultu concutiente sonant.

[5] Compare the opening lines of Ovid's elegy:

Memnona si mater, mater ploravit Achillem,
Et tangunt magnas tristia fata deas,
Flebilis indignos, Elegeia, solve capillos!

Puis je ne pleindre et ne pleurer ? Ha, non!
Et si encor du grand souleil les filles
Ont eu les yeux à pleurer tant faciles
Dessus leur frère, abysmé sans secours,
Qu'en arbre humide, et qui pleure tousjours,
Muées sont:[1] qui me pourra deffendre
De ne pleurer ma sœur, jà terre et cendre ?
Toy, son espoux, pleure sur ton espouse:[2]
Et moy, son frère, autant que dix ou douze
Dessus ma sœur je pleureray sans cesse.
Or sus, allons tous deux pleins de tristesse,
Vestuz, hélas! de noirs habitz non ceintz,
Les yeux de pleurs, les cœurs de regretz pleins,
Chanter sus elle un piteux requiem.
Allons offrir à Pluton l'ancien
Vin avec laict, noirs moutons, et brebis.
Allons en deuil et de cœurs et d'habitz
Ses beaux os blancs recueillir tous ensemble,
Avec la main qui toute de deuil tremble:
Puis les mettans en beau coffre de marbre,
Près d'un cyprès, qui est douloureux arbre,
Les baignerons en pleurs, en laict, et vin,
Entremeslans ce service divin[3]
De telz regretz: Or es tu trespassée,[4]
Et comme fleur or es tu tost passée.
Encor n'avois ton cours demy parfaict,
Quand fauce mort ce meschant tour t'a fait:
Encor n'avoit la ride fait ouvrage
A ton béning et ton tendre visage:

[1] The Heliades were so grieved at the death of their brother Phaëthon that they were changed by the gods into poplars, and their tears into amber. (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, ii.)

[2] With this and the following lines compare:

Hinc certe madidos fugientis pressit ocellos
Mater et in cineres ultima dona tulit;
Hinc soror in partem misera cum matre doloris
Venit inornatas dilaniata comas,
Cumque tuis sua iunxerunt Nemesisque priorque
Oscula nec solos destituere rogos.
Delia descendens, etc.

[3] Fontaine's description of the "divine service" seems to be derived from various sources, perhaps from the *Aeneid*, vi, 175 ff., with details from the *Aeneid*, v, 77 ff., and Ovid's *Tristia*, iii, 13 ff.

[4] Compare Ovid's apostrophe:

Tene, sacer vates, flammae rapuere rogales,
Pectoribus pasci nec timuere tuis ?

Cire n'avoit bordé tes yeux si bons,
Ny la blancheur gasté tes cheveux blonds.
Maudite mort, tousjours tes noires ailes
Abbatront ilz les choses les plus belles ? [1]
  Outre ceux là tant de regretz diray
Qu'autour de moy tout l'air j'en rempliray.
Ma seule sœur, non plus sœur, car je suis
Frère sans sœur, di pourquoy tant me fuis.
Tu n'avois pas demy parfait ton aage
Quand Lachésis trop lasche de courage
Ne voulut plus desvuider le beau fil
Tant délié, tant blanc, et tant subtil:
Lors Atropos par trop pleine d'envie
S'en vint couper ce beau fil de ta vie.[2]
  Pourquoy m'es tu tant contraire, ô fortune,
Quand après tout tu m'en as fait perdre une,
Une de corps qui valoit dix de cœur ? . . .
Fontaine, hélas! depuis que tu fus né
Or es tu bien au monde fortuné.
Mais si j'ay veu quelque temps si prospère
Que frère estois, ores ne suis plus frère:
Car j'ay perdu le reste de mes sœurs,
Qui me sera commencement de pleurs.[3]

In his advice to future poets, Du Bellay says concerning odes:

Chante moy ces odes, incogneues encor' de la Muse françoyse, d'un luc bien accordé au son de la lyre greque et romaine: et qu'il n'y ait vers où n'aparoisse quelque vestige de rare et antique érudition. Et quand à ce, te fourniront de matière les louanges des dieux et des hommes vertueux, le discours fatal des choses mondaines, la solicitude des jeunes hommes, comme l'amour, les vins libres, et toute bonne chère. Sur toutes choses, prens garde

[1] Scilicet omne sacrum mors importuna profanat,
Omnibus obscuras inicit illa manus!

[2] Cum rapiunt mala fata bonos (ignoscite fasso!)
Sollicitor nullos esse putare deos.
Vive pius: moriere; pius cole sacra: colentem
Mors gravis a templis in cava busta trahet;
Carminibus confide bonis: iacet, ecce, Tibullus;
Vix manet e toto parva quod urna capit.

[3] Concerning Fontaine's elegies, M. Chamard says: "Le talent modeste de Fontaine était à l'aise dans ce genre: c'est peut-être là qu'il a le mieux réussi: on peut compter parmi ses œuvres les plus heureuses les deux pièces qu'il composa sur la mort de sa sœur Catherine et sur le trépas de son fils René" (*Revue d'Hist. litt. de la France*, 1898, p. 62). For the elegy on the death of René, see p. 124, above.

que ce genre de poème soit éloingné du vulgaire, enrichy et illustré de motz propres et épithètes non oisifz, orné de graves sentences, et varié de toutes manières de couleurs et ornementz poétiques.

In short, the ode was to be learned, lofty in style, and imitated from or inspired by Pindar or Horace; the subjects treated were to be heroic and mythological, philosophic and moral, erotic and bacchic.[1]

Fontaine tried to follow Du Bellay's advice, and the result was, to say the least, most lamentable. His odes — some fifty in number, the first of which appeared in 1554[2] — were addressed to Flora, to various prelates and noblemen, to the Rhône and the Saône, to the poet's Muse, to death. Although, as Goujet has observed, "it is surely not his odes that will immortalize his name," I shall, for the sake of completeness, call attention to a few of them.

In some of Fontaine's odes, the influence of Horace is evident; for example, in the following ode to his Muse:

Muse, ma déesse honorée,
De qui ma plume est la mignonne,
Par elle seras révérée
Ainsi qu'une sacrée nonne:

Par toy j'ay un nom qui s'abille
Tout de plumes, pour son vol prendre,
Et s'en va léger et habile
Loing se faire voir et entendre:

Par toy mes petis vers verdissent,
Et, tousjours verds, tu les fais croistre
Aux beaux champs qui tousjours florissent
Bénistz par ta sainte main dextre.

Mieux que Médée et que la Circe
Tu rajeunis et tu transmues:
Comme le hault poète Dirce
Qu'en un aigle, ains phénix, tu mues.

[1] Cf. *La Deffence*, Chamard edition, pp. 208 ff.

[2] In the *Nouvelles et antiques merveilles*. Fontaine's other odes appeared in the *Ruisseaux* (1555), *Odes, énigmes, et épigrammes* (1557), and the *Sentences du poète Ausone* (1558).

Encor, pour un évident signe,
Tu me transmues en aloète,
En rossignol, en un blanc cigne,
Qui a la voix d'un doux poète.[1]

Horace's numerous poems on the vanity of life and the approach of inevitable death may have led Fontaine to express himself thus in many of his odes:

Nuds nous venons, nuds nous allons,
Et la mort nue à noz talons
Nous suit, nous menace, et nous presse,
Jusque qu'en la fosse nous laisse.[2]

Like Horace, Fontaine regrets the depravity of his time:

Voyant les gens tant aveuglez,
Après le vice allans si vite,
Si dépravez, si desreiglez,
Souvent je souhaite estre hermite.[3]

Like Horace, too, Fontaine not only regrets the degradation of his fellow men, but he proffers advice which, if followed, may lift them from the mire, and make them good citizens; for instance, in a long ode, *Exhortation à Messieurs de la Justice et du Consulat de la ville de Lion, pour le bien et honneur, augmentation, et conservation d'icelle.*[4]

In an ode inscribed to Jean Brinon,[5] Fontaine seems to have sought inspiration in Ronsard's ode to Michel de l'Hospital.[6] At Brinon's birth, says Fontaine, the Muses become interested in him, and Apollo, through an oracle, proclaims:

Car luy (dit il) tiendra ma place
Dessus le mont Parisien,
Luy qui a la grâce et la face
De moy Phébus Thessalien.

[1] *Les Ruisseaux*, p. 133. In a long ode, *L'Auteur présagit et quasi prévoit son immortalité par sa Muse* (*ibid.*, p. 153), Fontaine gives a most ridiculous version of Horace's ode to Maecenas, *Non usitata nec tenui ferar*, etc. (ii, 20), the theme of which is the transformation of the poet into a swan.

[2] *Les Sentences du poète Ausone*, p. 40. Cf. Horace, ii, 3; ii, 14; ii, 18, etc.

[3] *Les Sentences du poète Ausone*, p. 59.

[4] *Odes, énigmes, et épigrammes*, p. 105.

[5] *Les Ruisseaux*, p. 127.

[6] Marty-Laveaux edition of Ronsard's works, vol. ii, p. 119.

Apollo allows the Muses to remain in Paris, where they take care of Brinon. Out of gratitude, Brinon gives the Muses " his own wealth and revenue," which so pleases them that they choose to dwell in Paris, and not to return to the " Thessalian mount."

The influence of Ronsard, the most successful writer of odes of the time, is also noticeable in Fontaine's choice of metrical schemes. Fontaine's stanzas offer a great variety of meters. They vary from the simple stanza of lines of six syllables riming *abab*, *aabaab*, or *abaab*, of eight syllables riming *abab*, *aabb*, or *ababb*, and of ten syllables riming *abab*, to such intricate combinations as *aabccb* (7, 3, 7, 7, 3, 7 syllables) and *aabaab* (4, 4, 8, 4, 4, 8 syllables). Strangely enough, it is in the more complicated metrical structures that Fontaine secured the best results.[1]

For the remaining form of poetry recommended by Du Bellay and used by Fontaine, the marine or piscatory eclogue, Du Bellay suggested as a model Jacopo Sannazaro.[2]

Like the greater part of the forms recommended by Du Bellay, the marine eclogue was employed in France before the appearance

[1] That Fontaine could at times, when backed by Horace and Ronsard, compose a tolerable ode is shown by the long one, *A son amy qui le preschoit de vacquer aux biens et honneurs de ce monde* (*Les Sentences du poète Ausone*, p. 46). Horace's *aurea mediocritas* furnishes the theme. The metrical scheme may be found in Ronsard, Blanchemain edition, vol. ii, p. 190, *A Mgr Charles, duc d'Orléans*.

[2] Cf. Campaux, *De ecloga piscatoria qualem a veteribus adumbratum absolvere sibi proposuerit Sannazarius*, 1859; G. Rosalba, *Le Egloghe Pescatorie di J. Sannazaro*, Naples, 1908; W. P. Mustard, *The Piscatory Eclogues of Jacopo Sannazaro*, Baltimore, 1914. — Sannazaro's piscatory eclogues — *Phyllis*, *Galatea*, *Mopsus*, *Proteus*, and *Herpylis Pharmaceutria* — were first printed at Naples in 1526. " Sannazaro's Latin Eclogues," says Mr. Mustard (p. 11), " follow the regular Virgilian forms very closely, and their subjects are the regular traditional subjects — the dirge, the lover's complaint, the singing-match, etc. But the Virgilian conventions are so far modified that the pastoral eclogue becomes a piscatory eclogue, or an idyl of fishermen. The singers are no longer shepherds, but fishermen, and the scene is no longer Sicily or Arcadia, but the Bay of Naples. The wood-nymphs are transformed into sea-nymphs, the rustic gods into gods of the sea. Instead of flocks and herds, the speakers talk of boats and fishing-nets and lobster-pots, and instead of flowers and fruits, the lover's gifts are oysters and shells and pearls and coral." Cf. *ibid.*, p. 14: " In his Piscatory Eclogues, Sannazaro professed to be playing the part of a pioneer . . . This claim ignores certain of the Idyls of Theocritus (vi, xi, xxi), an author whom Sannazaro knew very well."

of the *Deffence*. In an *Éclogue marine* published in 1539, Hugues Salel mourned the death of Francis of Valois, eldest son of Francis I. During the dialogue, two mariners, Merlin and Brodeau (Mellin de Saint-Gelais and Victor Brodeau) do not allow their grief at the death of the young prince to prevent them from showering extravagant praises upon each other.[1]

It is probable that Charles Fontaine also wrote a marine eclogue before 1549. In the *Ruisseaux*[2] he published an *Éclogue marine, où sont introduitz deux nautonniers, Hugues Salel et Charles Fontaine*, a poem doubtless inspired by that of Salel.[3] Fontaine's eclogue is preceded by the following dizain *Au Roy*, which contains the burden of the eclogue:

Le nautonnier qu'on appelle Fontaine,
Le nautonnier qui jeune tant vogua
Que seulement luy reste mal et peine
Du sort fâcheux qui trop le fatiga,
Tristement chante, et fait cette éclogu'a
Pour déclarer sa fortune improspère
A vous, son Roy, en qui seul il espère:
Sire, oyez donc ses vœuz, plaintes, requestes,
Vous qui rendez la terre et mer prospère,
Vous qui trois foys plus grand que Neptune estes.

Fontaine opens the dialogue by commenting on Salel's astonishment at his having laid aside his pen, he, the sweet singer who formerly caused the naiads to thrill with pleasure. He explains the cause of his silence. In his youth many were the rivers he sailed upon, the Rhône and the Saône, the Meuse and the Moselle, the Loire, the Seine, the Marne, the Po, and even the sea; but now, alas! the winds and the waves have shattered his once sturdy bark, adversity has forced him to seek the haven of rest. Salel tries to comfort the downcast mariner, and, after considerable reflection, hits upon a means of relief: Neptune (the king),[4]

[1] Concerning Salel's eclogue, see Goujet, *Bibl. franc.*, vol. xii, p. 10.

[2] P. 391.

[3] Fr. Torraca, in *Gl' Imitatori stranieri di J. Sannazaro*, does not mention the marine eclogues of Salel and Fontaine, and Mr. Mustard seems not to have known that of Fontaine.

[4] Either Francis I or Henry II.

who has helped so many storm-tossed seamen, cannot refuse to lend a hand to such a faithful subject as Fontaine. Maître Charles decides to appeal to the monarch's generosity. However, should assistance fail to come soon, he feels that he must seek a sepulchre in the waters he has loved for so many long and weary years.

We have now seen that, of the poetic forms condemned by Du Bellay, Fontaine employed only the "familiar and domestic" epistle, and that, of the forms recommended, he anticipated Du Bellay's teachings in so far as the following are concerned: the epigram in imitation of Martial; the elegy (and epistle) in imitation of Ovid; and probably the marine eclogue in imitation of Sannazaro; and we have seen that he endeavored — in a most sorry manner, it is true — to follow Du Bellay's advice by composing odes. Let us now consider a kind of literature which Du Bellay professed especially to abhor, and which Fontaine employed extensively — the translation.

CHAPTER IX

THE TRANSLATOR

Grammarians and translators of the first half of the sixteenth century. — The opinions of Du Bellay, of Sibilet, and of Fontaine on translations. — *Les Épistres d'Ovide.* — Fontaine's views on the methods to be employed in translating. — *XXI Éptîres d'Ovide.* — *Le Remède d'amours.* — *Les Nouvelles et antiques merveilles.* — *Les Dicts des sept Sages.* — *Mimes de Publian.* — *Les Sentences du poète Ausone.* — Symposius. — Value of Fontaine's translations.

JOACHIM DU BELLAY, as I have said already, was not the first Frenchman to feel that the French language and literature were relatively weak, and he was not the first to attempt to "illustrate" them. In the second quarter of the sixteenth century the grammarians and the dabblers in grammar Geoffroy Tory, Jacques Dubois, Étienne Dolet, Jean Bouchet, Louis Meigret, and Jacques de Beaune had striven to make French more systematic, more reasonable, and better suited to lofty purposes than it had been in the past. Nor should it be forgotten that in August, 1539, Francis I issued the celebrated edict of Villers-Cotterets, which ordered that thenceforth all legal documents should be couched in the vernacular.

The laudable efforts of the king and the grammarians were ably seconded by those of the translators,[1] who thought that the French language and literature might be improved by an infusion of the masterpieces of antiquity, of Italy, and of Spain.[2]

[1] Among the most prominent translators of the first half of the sixteenth century were: Claude de Seyssel, Octovien de Saint-Gelais, Antoine Macault, Jean Colin, Jacques de Vintimille, Jehan Sanxon, Geoffroy Tory, Clément Marot, Mellin de Saint-Gelais, Étienne Dolet, Pierre Saliat, Antoine Héroët, Louis Meigret, Louis des Masures, Richard le Blanc, Jacques Gohorry, Pierre Duval, Lazare de Baïf, Bonaventure des Périers, François Habert, Charles Estienne, Antoine Alaigre, Jean Martin, Hugues Salel, Herberay des Essarts, Jacques Peletier, Jacques Amyot, and Thomas Sibilet.

[2] Cf. *La Deffence*, I, iv: ". . . on peut voir en si grand nombre de livres grecz et latins, voyre bien italiens, espaignolz et autres, traduictz en françoys par maintes excellentes plumes de nostre tens." — Works by the following Italian and Spanish

In the *Deffence*, Du Bellay expressed the opinion that translations, though useful to those persons who had no knowledge of foreign languages, were not sufficient to give to the French language the desired perfection. This opinion he reënforced with the following reason why mere translations could never result in the benefits that would come from the free imitation of classical masterpieces:

. . . pour ce qu'il est impossible de le [idioms, figures, etc.] rendre avecques la mesme grâce dont l'autheur en a usé: d'autant que chacune langue a je ne sçay quoy propre seulement à elle, dont si vous efforcez exprimer le naïf en une autre langue, observant la loi de traduyre, qui est n'espacier point hors des limites de l'aucteur, vostre diction sera contrainte, froide, et de mauvaise grâce . . .[1] Celuy donques qui voudra faire œuvre digne de prix en son vulgaire, laisse ce labeur de traduyre, principalement les poètes, à ceux qui de chose laborieuse et peu profitable, j'ose dire encor' inutile, voyre pernicieuse à l'acroissement de leur langue, emportent à bon droict plus de molestie que de gloyre.[2]

Against Du Bellay's condemnation of translations, especially of the poets, it is interesting to set the opinion of Thomas Sibilet, the theorist of the school of Marot:

La version ou traduction est aujourd'huy le poème plus fréquent et mieus receu des estimés poètes et des doctes lecteurs, à cause que chacun d'eus estime grand œuvre et de grand pris, rendre la pure et argentine invention des poètes dorée et enrichie de notre langue. Et vrayement celuy et son œuvre méritent grande louenge, qui a peu proprement et naïvement exprimer en son langage ce qu'un autre avoit mieus escrit au sien, après l'avoir bien conceu en son esperit. Et luy est deue la mesme gloire qu'emporte celuy qui par son labeur et longue peine tire des entrailles de la terre le thrésor caché, pour le faire commun à l'usage de tous les hommes.[3]

authors were translated into French during the period in question: Boccaccio, Petrarch, Pulci, Boiardo, Alberti, Ariosto, Bembo, Berni, Folengo, Francesco Colonna, Machiavelli, Caviceo, Castiglione; Antonio de Guevara, Pedro Mexía, Diego de San Pedro, Juan de Flores; also the *Celestina* and *Amadís de Gaula*.

[1] *La Deffence*, I, v.

[2] *Ibid.*, I, vi. Du Bellay makes exceptions (I, vi): "Ce que je dy ne s'adroisse pas à ceux qui, par le commandement des princes et grands seigneurs, traduysent les plus fameux poètes grecz et latins." Compare also I, x: "Quand aux autres parties de litérature, et ce rond de sciences que les Grecz ont nommé *encyclopédie*, j'en ay touché au commencement une partie de ce que m'en semble: c'est que l'industrie des fidèles traducteurs est en cet endroict fort utile et nécessaire."

[3] *Art poëtique françoys* (1548), Gaiffe edition, Paris, 1910, p. 187.

Charles Fontaine shared Sibilet's opinion. In a preface to his translation of the " first book " of Ovid's *Remedia Amoris*,[1] he has the following fling at the " enemies of all translation," the self-styled imitators of the classic poets:

> Or quant à ceux qui sont si grans ennemis de toute traduction, à leur bon commandement: mais que ce pendant ilz ne persévèrent point à desrober (qu'ilz appellent imiter) plusieurs vers et périodes des anciens poètes, lesquelz vers, sentences, et périodes toutes entières ilz s'attribuent: car ilz ne sauroient si bien se couvrir de ce qu'aucuns poètes renommez ont fait le semblable.[2]

Fontaine's translations, which form about one-half of his productions, show that he was as capable a translator as the generality of contemporary translators. It is not for their literary worth, however, that we shall turn our attention to his translations, but for the ideas concerning the value of translations, the methods a translator should employ, and other matters of interest that he introduced into his prefaces.[3]

Fontaine, as I have pointed out, was an ardent admirer of Ovid, whose elegies he imitated. He gave further evidence of his affection for Ovid by translating into French parts of the *Heroides* and of the *Remedia Amoris*.

His translation of ten of the *Heroides* was first published in 1552 by Jean Temporal and Eustache Barricat, of Lyons.[4] In a

[1] *Les Ruisseaux*, p. 349.

[2] The proneness of the Pléiade to appropriate to themselves " verses and periods from the ancient poets " under the cloak of imitation deserved censure. With Fontaine's remarks compare Sibilet, preface to *Iphigène* (November, 1549): . . . " je ne suy toutefois tant à reprendre que celuy qui se vante d'avoir trouvé ce qu'il ha mot à mot traduit des autres."

[3] Three of Fontaine's translations have been treated in preceding chapters: Saint Augustine's *Premier livre de la prédestination des sainctz* (p. 45, above), Artemidorus (pp. 125 ff., above), and the *Promptuaire des médalles* (pp. 139 ff., above). Mention has also been made of three lost translations to which Fontaine refers: *Translat de Duel* and *Translat de la Chiromance* (p. 126, note 3, above), and an unidentified translation presented to Francis I (p. 44, above).

[4] *Les Épistres d'Ovide nouvellement mises en vers françoys par M. Charles Fontaine Parisien: avec les préfaces et annotations: le tout non par cy devant imprimé. Plus y a la response à icelles épistres.* In the dedicatory epistle to Antoine de Crussol occurs

Petit avertissement aux lecteurs, he endeavors to justify himself for translating a part of the *Heroides* after Octovien de Saint-Gelais had already translated them (1500). Did not Louis des Masures translate the *Aeneid* after Octovien de Saint-Gelais, and did not M. de Saint-Ambroise (Jacques Colin) and the Seigneur de Saint-Romat translate some of the *Heroides* after Octovien? This proves that there is always a need for new efforts; the more translations, the greater the profit for the reader, who can compare the different versions.

Then follow a few lines which are of great interest. It has been seen that Du Bellay expressed scorn for his predecessors and even for many of his contemporaries. Let us now see what Fontaine thinks of Octovien de Saint-Gelais, who died just a half-century before the ensuing lines were penned. Could anything be more indicative of the views of the French language held by writers in the sixteenth century? Fontaine speaks in a patronizing manner of Saint-Gelais, Du Bellay shows the utmost contempt for Fontaine and his fellows, and only a short time after, the author of the *Vies des poètes françois* refers to the language of the entire sixteenth century as if it were almost an incomprehensible jargon of forgotten ages.[1] Fontaine's reference to Saint-Gelais follows:

> En quoy disant je n'enten le [Saint-Gelais] blasmer, ains plus tost le veuil je excuser, et prendre en bonne part ce qu'il a fait lors que nostre langue françoise n'estoit pas encor bien avant sortie de son enfance, ni n'estoient les artz et sciences tant esclarcis, ny les espritz si promptz, vifz, et agus comme de présent.

In a second notice to the reader, Fontaine sets forth his ideas on translating, the most important of which is that the translator

the following passage: "Monseigneur, ce qui m'induit vous escrire à présent est que je me suis adonné, depuis quelques années, à mettre en vers françois les premières épistres du gentil poète Ovide, tellement que mon labeur est parvenu jusques à la traduction de dix, dont je vous fay un présent: et ay éleu ce subject, entre cent autres, pource que dès mon jeune aage j'ay tousjours eu en admiration les œuvres d'Ovide, singulier poète en invention, grâce, et facilité."

[1] Colletet, *passim:* cf. p. 45, above.

should try to reproduce the sense of the work translated rather than distort the sense by seeking to adhere too closely to the original words.[1] He exhibits an especial dislike for translators who skip ten or twelve Latin verses because they are difficult, who expand a single Latin verse into eight or ten French verses, or who render the opposite of the original meaning by introducing ideas of their own.[2] In reply to ignorant people who complain that translations are not made word for word, he points out that each language has its own peculiar idioms, "de sorte que bien souvent ce qu'en une langue se dira bien élégamment en troys mots ne se pourra pas bien proprement et facilement dire en six en une autre langue." [3]

Special care should be given to Latin proper names, continues Fontaine. As far as feasible, they should be left in their original form, and should not be given French endings,[4] "pour la révérence de l'antiquité," and also because the unstable French orthography has not yet determined the proper forms of these names. However, if precedents can be found, the French forms may be used when they add to the smoothness of the verse, but even then the Latin forms should be placed in the margin of the page.[5]

[1] "En traduisant ces Épistres d'Ovide précédentes je ne me suis tant voulu renger aus termes qu'au sens."

[2] "Le premier vice est comme essoiner, détrancher, et mutiler l'auteur: le second, trop le confondre, et entreprendre sur lui: et le tiers, est le renverser, corrompre et contreindre à nostre sens: qui sont troys vices très grans et insupportables, à tout bon œil, en un traducteur."

[3] Cf. Du Bellay, p. 196, above. This applies particularly to Latin and French, says Fontaine: ". . . un vers latin a tousjours deux ou troys syllabes, voire quelquefoys six ou sept, plus que le vers françoys: j'enten des vers latins examètres et pentamètres, qui sont les plus communs, et dont se font plus de traductions. Aussi l'on voit quelle rudesse et mauvaise grâce ont les traductions ainsi faictes de vers pour vers."

[4] Ronsard and Du Bellay discussed this point. Both were in favor of giving French endings, whenever possible, to Greek and Latin proper names. Cf. *La Deffence*, II, vi; *Abrégé de l'art poëtique*, Blanchemain ed. of Ronsard's works, vol. vii, pp. 320 and 335.

[5] Fontaine says he employs some modernized forms that he found in a book, "l'estat du grand Turc, et des tables de la Grèce, et de ceus qui ont revu et additionné le Ptolomée."

After these observations on the methods of translating, Fontaine explains the merits of his translation of the *Heroides*; it will not only allow the common herd to enjoy the beauties of Ovid without a knowledge of Latin, but it will also serve as an excellent moral tonic:

> Les mœurs . . . pource qu'il n'y a personne tant adonnée et eschauffée en l'amour voluptueuse, qui n'en soit bien refroidie et destournée après qu'elle aura bien leu icy dedans, et bien considéré les peines et misères des amoureux, les poignantes passions, les pertes de sens, et folles perturbations, les belles paroles et faulses promesses, les regretz et complaintes, les impatiences et inconstances: et, pour la fin, les mauvaises issues avec désespoir, mal respondans à leur commencement tant joyeux et tant plein de grand espoir.

There is nothing obscene in the *Heroides*, says Maître Charles. Examples of chastity abound; for instance, Penelope and Deianira. Phaedra's love for Hippolytus was scarcely proper, it is true; still, the reader may profit by the epistle dealing with her love; let him close his eyes to the passages about Phaedra, and let him drink in with his whole soul the verses relating to the chaste Hippolytus.[1]

The *Épistres d'Ovide* had such a great success that in 1556 Fontaine published a second edition. To the first ten epistles translated by himself, he added the remaining eleven, translated by Octovien de Saint-Gelais and the Seigneur de Saint-Romat.[2]

[1] After remarking that his translation "sera prins en bonne part par ceux qui seront raisonnables, et qui auront tant soit peu de sel en leur teste," Fontaine adds a few words about Michel d'Amboise's *Response aux dix épistres précédentes*, which he appended to his translation. In the *Contrépistres d'Ovide*, Paris, 1541 and 1546, Michel d'Amboise, imitating a Latin writer, Aulus Sabinus, attempted to pen replies to the *Heroides*. "Ce sont les héros qui y parlent," says Goujet, "et dans plusieurs des discours que l'auteur leur prête, on voit qu'il n'a pas eu l'intention de faire sa cour aux dames." Concerning Michel d'Amboise, see Goujet, *Bibl. franç.*, vol. x, pp. 327–358.

[2] *Les XXI Épîtres d'Ovide. Les dix premières sont traduites par Charles Fontaine Parisien: le reste est par lui revu et augmenté de préfaces. Les amours de Mars et Vénus, et de Pluton vers Proserpine: imitacion d'Homère et d'Ovide*, Lyons, Jean de Tournes and Guillaume Gazeau. In the dedication to Madame de Crussol, the mother of Antoine de Crussol, Fontaine, after speaking of the success of his *Épistres d'Ovide*, says that he has decided to publish a new edition: "Encores (à fin que

Fontaine's translation of the "first book" of Ovid's *Remedia Amoris* appeared in the *Ruisseaux de Fontaine* (1555). In a foreword, *Le Translateur aux lecteurs*, Maître Charles refers to his translation of the first ten *Heroides*, "que vous avez veuë ces jours passez," and then takes up the question of translating in general. At the risk of repeating what has been given above, I shall reproduce his ideas on the duties of translators, as set forth succinctly in the *Remède d'amours:*

Je trouve donc qu'il y a trois choses que doit observer un qui veult bien traduire: la première, c'est qu'il retienne et rende les termes et dictions de l'auteur, autant près qu'il est possible: ce que l'on peult appeller la robbe.

La seconde, qu'il rende aussi le sens par tout entier (car il ne fault tant estre curieux des termes que de laisser le sens, ou le rendre obscur): ce que l'on peult appeller le corps.

La tierce, c'est qu'il rende et exprime aussi naïvement la naturelle grâce, vertu, énergie, la doulceur, élégance, dignité, force, et vivacité de son auteur qu'il veult traduire, et des personnes introduictes parlans ou faisans aucunes

l'euvre fût plus parfait et acompli) délibéray y ajouter les onze épîtres qui restoient: et ce, non de ma traduccion nouvelle, ains de l'antique translat de feu Monsieur de Saingelais, jadis Évesque d'Angoulesme, pour laisser aussi l'honneur deu à celle bonne antique simplicité ou simple antiquité: que l'on reconnoîtra à la trace estre de ce bon vieus tems: et dequoy meintes gens le resentans se pourront délecter. Toutefois y ay passé la main par dessus, ne fût que pour racoutrer l'ortografe, les points, quelques mots et lignes entières laissées en sens imparfait, . . . changeant encor quelquefois et radoubant les coupes féminines, où j'ay senti que facilement se pouvoit faire. . . .

Et ne doy oublier que j'ay fourni celles [epistles] d'Êro et Leander [the eighteenth and nineteenth] du translat, non du Signeur Octovian, ains du Signeur de Saint-Romat (comme j'entens), par ce qu'elles sont trop mieus resentans la perfeccion de notre tems en honneur litéraire.

Au reste nous avons encores ajouté à la fin d'icelles épîtres les amours de Mars et Vénus, imitacion d'Homère: et le ravissement de Proserpine, imitacion aussi de notre Ovide: deus petis traitez non par ci devant imprimez."

In the *XXI Épîtres d'Ovide*, Fontaine also put one of Clément Marot's translations: *Musaeus, ancien poète grec: Des Amours de Léander et Héro, traduit en rime françoise par Clément Marot de Cahors en Querci, valet de chambre du Roy.*

New editions of the *XXI Épîtres d'Ovide* were published in 1571 by Hierosme de Marnef, of Paris, in 1573 by Jean de Tournes, of Lyons, and in 1580 by Guillaume Cavellat, of Paris. The 1573 edition contains also *Le Combat d'Hercule et d'Achelois, pris d'Ovide, par l'excellent poète françois Joachim du Bellay.* Since Fontaine was probably dead in 1573, it is more than likely that the insertion of Du Bellay's poem in the volume was merely a trick of the publisher.

choses: ce que l'on peult appeller l'âme de l'oraison: mais bien peu de ceux qui traduisent adviennent eureusement à ces trois pointz, pour la grant difficulté. Parquoy la plus grand part des plus sages et experts translateurs sont plus soigneux à rendre le sens et la grâce que les mots: de l'advis et du nombre desquelz j'ay esté, je suis, et vueil estre.[1]

In 1554 Fontaine published a small volume composed mainly of translations, *Les Nouvelles et antiques merveilles. Plus, un traicté des douze Césars, premiers empereurs de Romme, nouvellement traduit d'Italien en François. En fin y a une Ode pour Dieu gard à la ville de Paris, faite en Juin 1554.*[2]

[1] Compare the suggestions to translators by Étienne Dolet in *La Manière de bien traduire d'une langue en autre*, Lyons, 1540: (1) The translator should understand perfectly the sense and the matter of the author he is translating, (2) should have a thorough knowledge of both languages, (3) should not make a literal translation, (4) in translating from Latin into a modern language, should use common words, avoid neologisms and words too closely resembling Latin, (5) should seek to make the translation harmonious and agreeable to the ear as well as to the soul.

Goujet (vol. vi, p. 11) scoffed at the following statement by Fontaine relating to the *Remède d'amours:* " J'ay traduit cecy pour bien et pour la vertu: comme aussi pour mesme raison, à bonne intention et pour induire à pudiques mœurs, j'ay, long temps a, composé le petit traité de la Contr'amie de Court." Notwithstanding Goujet's protest that the *Remedia Amoris* could scarcely serve as a guide to virtue, Fontaine's statement is true. Goujet had in mind the entire *Remedia Amoris*, Fontaine only the portion translated by him, that is, the first 396 lines. It is only after the 396th line that Ovid becomes obscene.

In a short summary of the *Remède d'amours*, Fontaine pays the following compliment to the *Deiphira* of Leon Battista Alberti: " . . . ceux qui voudront, en pourront voir un autre petit [livre] en prose, que je trouve bien fait et bien déduit, c'est la Déiphire de Léon Baptiste Albert, qui enseigne d'éviter l'amour: il a esté composé en italien et traduit en françois, et imprimé par plusieurs fois."

According to Blanchemain, Mellin de Saint-Gelais wrote the following lines on Fontaine's *Remède d'amours*:

Amour voyant la superscription
De ton livret, qui le blasme et méprise,
En voulut voir l'ordre et la diction,
Et y trouva tant d'art et de maistrise
Que pour le stile il loua l'entreprise
Et contre toy n'en fut pis animé.
Il faut donc bien, ami, que l'on te prise,
S'Amour hayant d'Amour tu es aimé.

(Blanchemain edition of Saint-Gelais's works, vol. ii, p. 59.)

Other critics think that Saint-Gelais's huitain refers to Fontaine's *Contr'amye de Court.*

[2] Paris, Guillaume le Noir.

The "new and antique marvels" are epitomes: *Sommaire du livre des nouvelles Isles*, a vague account of Columbus's voyages to the West, made from a work which I am unable to identify,[1] and *Les Fleurs du livre de Assé: qui est un petit recueil et brief sommaire de plusieurs belles antiquitez: contenant une partie de l'excellence et magnificence des richesses, triomphes et largesses des anciens, et principalement des Rommains*, scarcely more than a table of contents of Guillaume Budé's *De Asse* (1515), a treatise on the coins and measures of antiquity, which, according to M. Gustave Lanson, showed the humanists the way to exact erudition.[2] The *Traicté des douze Césars* is a synopsis of Suetonius's *Vitae Caesarum*. The Roman emperors from Julius Caesar to Domitian are honored with a short biography and an account of the chief events of their careers.

In addition to these epitomes, the volume contains several odes by Fontaine, and especially the *Ode pour Dieu gard à la ville de Paris*, which furnishes information about some of the foremost men of the time and some of the principal monuments and institutions of Paris.[3]

Notwithstanding the documentary value of the *Ode pour Dieu gard à la ville de Paris* and Fontaine's laudable effort to put in the hands of the people summaries of such important works as the *De Asse* and the *Vitae Caesarum*, the most interesting part of the *Nouvelles et antiques merveilles* is the dedicatory letter to "M. d'Ivor, secrétaire du Roy." This letter contains many curious ideas relating to the discovery of the New World, which occurred only some sixty years before the publication of Fontaine's *Sommaire du livre des nouvelles Isles*. The portion of the epistle dealing with the New World follows:

[1] I have examined a large number of possible sources, but the fact that Fontaine's work is a summary makes identification of its source very difficult, if not impossible.

[2] *Hist. de la litt. française*, p. 230. In 1522 Budé made at the king's request an abridgment in French of the *De Asse*. M. Louis Delaruelle, in his *Guillaume Budé*, Paris, 1907, does not mention Fontaine's epitome of Budé's work.

[3] The *Ode* is composed of 102 quatrains. For a complete list of the persons addressed, see Bibliography, A, no. 10.

Ces deux sommaires, ou double recueil, j'ay nommé les nouvelles et antiques merveilles, et non sans cause: car le premier recueil contient sommairement et par récapitulation la description et discours des terres nouvellement trouvées qu'on appelle terres neufves: je dy nouvellement trouvées pource qu'elles ont esté trouvées seulement de nostre temps, et pour la plus grant partie depuis soyxante et dix ans. Et pource je les appelle les nouvelles merveilles: et ce pour deux raisons. La première par ce que Ptolomée, qui a descript le plus amplement de toutes les régions et climatz de la terre, laquelle il a divisée en Europe, Asie et Afrique, jamais n'a fait mention aucune de ces isles et gens des terres neufves, ny Strabo, ny tous les autres cosmographes ou géographes anciens. Dont appert clèrement qu'elles n'estoient encor trouvées, sceues, ny cogneues au monde. Et pource les géographes modernes en ont fait une quarte partie de la terre, qu'ilz ont nommée isle, attendu qu'elle est toute environnée de la mer: et les autres trois parties ont esté nommées terre ferme.

La seconde raison est pourtant que la conversation et manière de faire de ces gens habitans lesdictes isles et terres neufves sont fort merveilleuses et estranges.

Or, par ce premier discours et sommaire vous verrez comment ces isles furent premier trouvées par un de nostre nation nommé Bétencourt:[1] et depuis assaillies et hantées par un Génevoys nommé Christofle Coulom, qui obtint navires et gens du Roy d'Espaigne Fernand: toutesfoys j'ay trouvé aux livres latins traictans de géographie que ces isles furent premier trouvées par Améric Vespuce: et pourtant les modernes géographes appellent ceste partie de la terre Amérique ou Amérige. Mais nonobstant je croy et tiens que Bétencourt y fut le premier, non pour favoriser à ma nation (car Bétencourt estoit Françoys), ains par ce que la date que je trouve aux livres latins quand Améric trouva lesdictes terres est depuis et long temps après la date que je trouve que Bétencourt y fut. Ceste partie de terre pour sa grandeur et spaciosité les géographes modernes nomment nouveau monde: et disent que les habitans vont tous nudz, mangent les gens estrangers, et l'un l'autre quelquefoys: sont fort seurs à tirer de l'arc: n'obéissent à personne, et sont sans Roy et seigneurs, pour la plus grande partie: sont bons et expertz nageurs, tant hommes que femmes: n'ont fer, ny métaux, mais arment et affûtent leurs sagettes, flèches, et dardz de dents de bestes et poissons: sont fort légers et courent bien. Leurs richesses sont les plumes d'oyseaux de diverses couleurs, et grande abondance de pierreries, lesquelles pour braveté ilz pendent et attachent à leurs lèvres et oreilles. Ilz ont perles et or: sont libéraux à donner, curieux aussi et convoiteux de prendre et recevoir. Ilz se tirent le sang par les reins et par les jambes. Les aucuns ensevellissent leurs mortz avec eau et vivres. Les autres mettent les plus malades, et près de la mort, avec vivres sur des cordages de coton, attachez et penduz lesditz cordages en façon de retz à deux arbres en une grande forest: et passent là tout

[1] Concerning Jean de Béthencourt (d. 1422), the conqueror of the Canary Islands, see article and references in the *Grande encyclopédie.*

le jour à danser et sauter autour de celuy qui se meurt. Ilz adorent le ciel, le soleil, et la lune, et les estoilles. Leurs domiciles et maisons sont faictes en façon de cloches couvertes par dessus de fueille d'arbre qu'on appelle palme. Ilz n'ont point de grains ou fruitz pour semer, mais font de la farine de racines d'arbres, et en cuisent et mangent comme pain. Ceux qui sont prochains de l'isle dicte de l'Espaignole vivent de grans serpens qu'ilz mangent au lieu de pain et aussi de racines. L'on trouve en ces pays là une beste ayant naturellement une vessie dessoubz son estomac, dedans laquelle elle porte ses petis, et ne les met hors sinon pour les alaicter.[1]

The remaining three translations by Fontaine are similar in nature; in each case he tried to satisfy the fondness of his contemporaries for proverbs and "sentences."

The first of these translations, published in 1557 by Jean Citoys, of Lyons, is entitled *Les Dicts des sept Sages, ensemble plusieurs autres sentences latines extraites de divers, bons, et anciens auteurs, avec leur exposicion françoise.* In addition to "golden words or precepts" by the Seven Wise Men of Greece, the *Dicts des sept Sages* contains 150 "sentences" culled from other ancient writers — for instance, from Theophrastus, Aristotle, Diogenes, Crates, Menander, Pericles, Theognis, Euripides, Propertius, Ovid, Juvenal, Horace, and Virgil. Fontaine did not translate the sayings of the Seven Wise Men and the other Greek authors from the Greek, but made use of Latin translations. His method is simple: the precept is given in Latin, followed

[1] Concerning his epitome of Budé's *De Asse*, Fontaine says: "Là verrez certaines belles antiques singularitez recueillies de divers auteurs et historiographes: lesquelles choses m'ont semblé bien notables et dignes d'estre bien congneues et communiquées: et qui d'autant plus facilement pourront plaire aux lecteurs, et par eux estre leues et retenues, comme plus brièvement je les ay mises en avant, à l'honneur et renom de nostre nation: car l'autheur premier estoit feu monsieur Budé, jadis maistre des requestes chez le Roy, homme par tout renommé pour son grand sçavoir, et estoit Françoys de nation, comme aussi celuy qui trouva premier les terres neufves estoit Françoys, ainsi que j'ay touché cy dessus. Et par ainsi le tout (c'est à dire les deux petis traictez) redonde à l'honneur de la France . . . "

In 1559 Fontaine published the following work, probably a part of the *Nouvelles et antiques merveilles: La Description des terres trouvées de nostre temps, avec le sommaire de plusieurs belles antiquitez, contenant une partie de l'excellence et magnificence des richesses, triumphes et largesses des anciens*, Lyons, Benoît Rigaud. See Bibliography, A, no. 20.

by the French translation, with parallel citations from various writers and comments by Fontaine.

The second volume of precepts, published also in 1557 by Jean Citoys, bears the following title: *Mimes de Publian, ce sont certains dicts graves et sentencieux, mis de latin en françois et accordés avec plusieurs bons auteurs: ensemble douze paraboles et six énigmes.* The author whom Fontaine calls Publian is Publilius Syrus, the Latin author of mimes of the first century before Christ, whose sententious sayings were very popular in the Middle Ages.[1]

Fontaine's tendency to moralize reaches its height in his last translation, *Les Sentences du poète Ausone sur les dits des sept Sages. Odes et autres compositions, pour inciter à la vertu,* published in 1558 by Jean Brotot, of Lyons. This work is composed of translations of precepts from Ausonius's *Ludus Septem Sapientum,* a sort of play in which the Seven Wise Men of Greece regale their listeners with moral sayings, and of original poems in French: the ten commandments, morning and evening prayers,[2] and a number of odes. The following lines to the Duke of Anjou sound the keynote of the entire volume:

Durant cette eureuse jeunesse
Pourra bien prendre esbatement
Votre vertueuse noblesse
Avec ma Muse honnestement:
Car elle chante chastement
Au loz de vertu immortelle:
Et si mesprise constamment
Maintz abus de vie mortelle.

The odes, which form the most important part of the work, testify to the great change that has come over the once ambitious

[1] Fontaine would have been more correct had he entitled his translation *Sentences de Publian,* since the precepts given are merely detached fragments of Publilius Syrus's lost mimes (some of which are now attributed to Seneca and Laberius). — The *Mimes de Publian* is dedicated to the Dauphin. In the preliminary epistle Fontaine speaks of his admiration for Publilius Syrus, and takes pride in being the first to translate his precepts into French.

[2] Compare Marot's *Oraisons* (Jannet edition, vol. iv, pp. 49 ff.): articles of faith, the ten commandments, prayers during and after meals, the *Ave Maria,* etc.

poet; the world now seems to him a hollow sham, full of wickedness and deception.[1] The burden of the odes is identical: life is short; avoid avarice, pride, envy, wrath; shun

> Ces voluptez, ces appétis,
> Qui corrompent grans et petis,
> Ces faucetez et ces faintises,
> Concupiscences, convoitises.
> Souvenez vous plutôt:
> Mais cil qui a l'esprit fondé
> Sur fondement ferme et sondé
> Par vertu ferme et asseurée,
> Vit mieux et plus à la durée.[2]

As a whole, Fontaine's translations are valuable and interesting, and were doubtless more so at the time they were published than at the present day. In selecting works to translate, Fontaine evidently tried to furnish a variety of subjects and to cater to the taste of the general public: the unpublished *Premier livre de la prédestination des sainctz* of Saint Augustine is a theological treatise; Artemidorus deals with a popular superstition; the *Épistres d'Ovide* and the *Remède d'amours* treat of love; the *Promptuaire des médalles* is an encyclopaedic work dealing with ancient and modern times, the Bible, and mythology; the *Livre des nouvelles Isles* is concerned with the New World, the *Traicté des douze Césars* and the summary of Budé's *De Asse* with antiquity; the volumes of "sentences" — the *Dicts des sept Sages*, the *Mimes de Publian*, and the *Sentences du poète Ausone* — contain "the quintessence of ancient wisdom";[3] and even the worthless enigmas were welcomed by the readers of the time.

[1] The titles of a few of the odes are: *Que le repos et contentement d'esprit est le seul grand bien que Dieu donne en ce monde; De la froide charité, et de la bonne amitié perdue; Aux amis du monde; A celuy qui s'esbahissoit que l'autheur n'avoit acquis plus de biens de ce monde.*

[2] In addition to the translations mentioned, Fontaine translated into French twenty-eight enigmas by the Latin poet Caelius Firmianus Symposius (or by Lactantius). See *Les Ruisseaux*, pp. 217 ff. Concerning the popularity of the enigma, Sibilet says (*Art poétique*, II, xi): "Aujourd'huy . . . il est fort receu . . ."

[3] Concerning the value of such collections in the sixteenth century, see Lanson, *Hist. de la litt. française*, p. 230, in connection with Erasmus's *Adages*.

With regard to the value of Fontaine's translations, and of translations in general, I must side with Sibilet against Du Bellay. There is no doubt, as M. Chamard remarks, that Joachim professed to scorn translations merely because they were held in high esteem by the "Marotteaux."[1] At any rate, Du Bellay and other members of the Pléiade showed that they were in reality not so hostile towards the "version" as the *Deffence* pretended: Tyard, Belleau, and Baïf translated various works; Ronsard translated the *Plutus* of Aristophanes, and published many an "imitation" of ancient and modern writers; Du Bellay translated the fourth and the sixth books of the *Aeneid*, several passages from Ovid, "imitated" many of the poems of Navagero and other Italians, and in the *Deffence*, in which he inveighed against translations, introduced page after page of servile translation from Sperone Speroni's *Dialogo delle lingue*.[2]

[1] "D'où lui vient cet accès de colère, et pourquoi proscrit-il la traduction avec tant de rigueur ? Est-ce donc seulement pour garantir l'originalité de l'écrivain et réserver ses droits à l'invention ? Je le voudrais; mais j'ai grand'peur que ce soit surtout pour faire échec aux Marotiques. La "version" était fort en honneur dans l'école de Marot." (Chamard, *Joachim du Bellay*, p. 122.)

[2] Cf. P. Villey, *Les Sources italiennes de la "Deffence,"* Paris, 1908.

CHAPTER X

THE CLOSE OF LIFE

Les Figures du Nouveau Testament. — Fontaine's view on orthography. — *Les Ruisseaux de Fontaine.* — *Le Passetemps des amis.* — Collège de la Trinité. — Fontaine temporary principal of the Collège de la Trinité. — *Odes, énigmes, et épigrammes.* — *Salutation au Roy Charles IX, sus son entrée en sa noble et antique ville de Lyon.* — Death of Fontaine.

FROM 1552 to 1559 inclusive Fontaine published nearly two-thirds of all his works — thirteen, and possibly fourteen,[1] volumes, or an average of about two volumes a year. Of this number we have sufficiently examined all but the following three: *Les Figures du Nouveau Testament* (1554), *Les Ruisseaux de Fontaine* (1555), and *Odes, énigmes, et épigrammes* (1557).

The *Figures du Nouveau Testament* is composed of ninety-five woodcuts by Bernard Salomon or by his pupils, and a number of sixains by Fontaine. In a notice to the reader, the printer, Jean de Tournes, says that illustrations make a more lasting impression on the mind than mere oral instruction does, " à cause de quoy vous ay fait dresser ce présent livret de figures, prinses sus les histoires du Nouveau Testament, et concernans les principaux articles, mystères, et points de nostre salut et sainte foy chrétienne et catholique, avec l'exposition, en petis vers, mise brièvement au dessouz de chacune d'icelles. Recevez le donq, Lecteurs, pour récréation à l'œil, ayde à la mémoire, et contentement à l'esprit." [2]

The sixains by Fontaine — some seventy in all — are undeserving of the name of poetry. In a notice to the reader, Fontaine says that " la contrainte de la brièveté, la taille, et le sujet," and also his desire to avoid stiffness and obscurity, have perhaps laid

[1] La Croix du Maine alone mentions " plusieurs Odes et autres Poésies, imprimées à Paris par Vincent Sertenas, l'an 1554."

[2] For the contents of the *Figures du N. T.*, see Bibliography, A, no. 11.

his verses open to censure, and adds that if any one thinks he can do better, he may try.

Fontaine's remarks to the reader also contain the following lines concerning orthography:

> Mais touchant l'ortographe, l'on a tenu le meilleur moyen que l'on a peu, pour les variétez qui sont aujourd'hui en la langue françoise entre les savans, quant à résoudre si l'on doit suivre la dérivation ou prononciation: mesme, partie par inavertence, partie pour suivre la naïve douceur de la prononciation françoise, en quelques mots trouverez quelquefois une lettre ou deux laissées, ce que vous plaira supporter, et prendre le tout en meilleure part.[1]

Of greater importance than the *Figures du Nouveau Testament* is the *Ruisseaux de Fontaine*, published in 1555 by Thibault Payen, of Lyons. Its four hundred pages are a veritable mine of information relating to the literary men and women of the middle of the sixteenth century; and not only is it invaluable for general literary history, but it also affords a great deal of material for the biography of Fontaine himself.[2]

Among the varied contents of the *Ruisseaux* there are a number of poems entitled *Le Passetemps des amis*,[3] which are of interest for the light they shed on the literary manners of the time.

The *Passetemps* consists of epistles and epigrams which represent the remains of a correspondence carried on by Fontaine and his friends. The poets who contributed to the collection — a good-natured, poetry-mad set, provincials for the most part — were Guillaume des Autelz (under the imperfect anagram Teshault), Jean Orri, Gabriel Tamot, Jean Dugué, François l'Archer, Michel du Rochay, Denys Sauvage, Nicole Le Jouvre, Antoine

[1] It is interesting to compare the orthography of the above quotation with that of Fontaine's other writings.

[2] Nearly all of Goujet's article on Fontaine is derived from the *Ruisseaux*. — For a complete list of the persons addressed in the *Ruisseaux*, see Bibliography, A, no. 12. — A great part of the contents of the *Ruisseaux* has already been examined: the correspondence between Fontaine and Jean Dugué, and other "familiar and domestic" epistles; the elegies on the death of Catherine and René Fontaine; epigrams, odes, *Dieu gard*, and *estreines*; the translations of the *Remedia Amoris* and of the enigmas attributed to Symposius; and the marine eclogue.

[3] Pp. 225 ff.

Pérard, René Chandelier, Jean de Morel, Alexis Gaudin, Antoine de Surie, Bonaventure du Tronchet, Hubert Philippe de Villiers, and Fontaine.[1] From the verses which I shall quote it will be seen that Maître Charles was regarded by his fellow poets as a sort of Malherbe, whose esteem and opinions were eagerly sought after. For instance, E. H. pays tribute to him as follows:

> Il me desplaist que n'ay fait mon devoir
> En mon logis de te mieux recevoir:
> Car un ruisseau (c'est bien chose certaine)
> N'est rien au pris d'une vive fontaine:
> Le ruisseau suys limonneux, toutesfoys
> Favorisé je coule quelquefoys:
> Fontaine es tu en France renommée.

E. H.'s manner soon changes. After saying that "il a vu les loups" — that is, rapacious printers who have cost him "six vingtz écus" — he accuses Fontaine of belittling his ability as a poet:

> Mon nom n'a pas si bonne renommée,
> A ton avis ce n'est que bruit qui court
> Légèrement parmy les gens de court . . .
> Il m'est avis qu'il y a dans ton cueur
> Quelque secret de ma veine moqueur:
> S'il est ainsi, donc un potier provoque
> L'autre potier, et de son art se moque.

Fontaine replies:

> J'ay souvent dit que tu as bonne veine:
> Mais me contrains de te dire à cette heure
> Que par le monde y en a de meilleure.

He then adds a bit of self-criticism, which is not altogether devoid of the vanity so often found in his works:

> J'ay veu que jeune en chaleur je rimoye,
> Mais l'aage meur en mit tant bas la joye
> Qu'il a beaucoup mes Muses refroidies,
> Et par froideur rendues moins hardies . . .

[1] Other poets signed merely their initials: E. H., F. P., V. L., S. H. — The poems of the *Passetemps* were composed at various dates, some as early as 1535, others as late as 1547. Extracts from the epistles of Fontaine's uncle, Jean Dugué, are given in chapter I, above.

Je suis ami, et moqueur ne suis point,
Ny controlleur: ains quand il vient à point
A mes amis je dy ouvertement,
(Quand on m'enquiert) tel est mon sentiment . . .
et je n'entens mesdire,
Aymant trop mieux me taire que mal dire . . .
Avant juger, je ly, je voy, j'escoute . . .
Nouveau ne suis, tu dois estre asseuré
Que je suis faict, et desjà tout leurré.
J'ayme la Muse avecques modestie,
Et la personne à douceur convertie:
Et n'ayme pas ny gens qui tant se vantent
Par leurs propos, ny vers qui tant s'esventent.
Neuf ans entiers et plus je me suis teu:
Puis peu de gens de mes œuvres ont eu:[1]
Mais toutesfois j'ay regret bien souvent
De m'estre mis encore si tost au vent:
Car ne quiers voir mon nom tant exalté,
J'en laisse faire à la postérité.

Fontaine got along better with Jean Orri, " advocat en la ville du Mans," than with the susceptible E. H. Orri, if we are to believe Maître Charles's praises, was a learned man, and also a most agreeable entertainer:

En premier lieu, vous avez du savoir
Certes trop plus que je ne pense avoir,
Soit en Latin ou Françoys, vers ou prose,
Qui est en vous une louable chose.
En second point une joyeuseté
Avez meslée avecques privauté,
De tel' façon, et de si bonne sorte,
Qu' impossible est qu'une personne sorte
D'avecques vous le cœur d'ennuy chargé.

Orri's own words indicate that he was indeed a jovial person. When Fontaine chides him for neglecting the Muses, he replies:

Dont cause sont mille cinq cens affaires
Que j'ay le jour, qui me sont nécessaires:
Et puis la nuict fault à la femme entendre,
Qui jour et nuict ne fait que ses laz tendre,
Tant qu'il convient, quand doy prendre repos

[1] Between 1537 and 1545 Fontaine published only the *Contr'amye de Court.*

De mon esprit, travailler o le dos:
Ou l'endemain faudroit (qui fort me poise)
De Xantippé ouÿr la dure noyse,
Ou délaisser tout soudain la maison
Com' Socrates.

Through the kindness of Orri, Fontaine was put in communication with Gabriel Tamot, an aged lawyer of Le Mans.[1] Orri writes of him to Fontaine as follows:

quelqu'un qui m'a prié assez
De luy donner de vous la congnoissance,
Dont vous parlay (j'en ay bien souvenance)
En vostre hostel. Il est de nostre court:
De son savoir (pour vous parler plus court)
Je n'en dy rien, vous en congnoistrez l'art
En goûtant bien l'épistre du vieillart
Qu'il vous envoye.

Upon receiving the old man's epistle, Fontaine wrote to Orri:

Elle a bon vent, et marine en effect,
Dont suis joyeux que tel honneur me faict.

Tamot's epistle is interesting, notwithstanding it smacks of the sovereign poets he mentions, Alain Chartier, Meschinot, Milet, and Nesson:

Jeune ay esté, maintenant suis vieillart,
Passé, cassé, ma rime est de vieil art
Peu estimée entre jeunes auteurs,
De gens lettrez, et [? de] lettres amateurs.
Car on m'a dit qu'en bon art poétique
Tu es expert, garni de théorique,
De bons propos et science certaine . . .
Assez souvent je rime sans raison,
Mais pour rimer n'est riche ma maison:[2]
Rime et raison sont trèsbonnes ensemble,

[1] Concerning Orri, Tamot, and other lawyers of Le Mans, cf. C. Jugé, *Nicolas Denisot du Mans*, Le Mans and Paris, 1907, pp. 7, 11, and 12. La Croix du Maine, who says (vol. i, p. 564) that Orry wrote "quelques mémoires et recherches des antiquités du Maine" and an art of poetry, concludes thus: "Orry florissoit au Mans, exerceant son état d'avocat, l'an 1544, sous le règne de François I." La Croix du Maine also has a few words on Tamot (vol. i, p. 256).

[2] For Fontaine's reply to this line, see p. 133, above.

Bienheureux est qui des biens en assemble:
Ce n'est pas moy: car je congnoy trèsbien,
Et longtemps a, que je n'y acquiers rien:
Et m'est besoing savoir autre mestier.
Je ne suys pas un maistre Alain Chartier,
Un Meschinot, un Milet, un Nesson,
Desquelz on oyt le poétique son.[1]

After old age, youth. A timorous stripling, F. P., yearns to write to Fontaine, but he hesitates:

Mais quoy ? Phébus me vint tanser,
Et me reprint ainsi dessoubs
Pareil propos: Son stile doux,
Ses vers tant beaux et mesurez,
Ses motz et termes azurez,
Dont il a en maintes provinces
Et accès et crédit aux princes,
Ne te donnent ilz à entendre
Qu'escrire à luy ne dois prétendre ?

Finally, grown accustomed to Fontaine's greatness, he summons enough courage to write. Maître Charles's reply is very modest. If I am " great " and " subtle," he says, credit is due God alone,

Qui m'a (sans que vanter m'en ose)
D'un petit rien fait quelque chose.

Fontaine exchanged with Nicole Le Jouvre, " scribe de l'Université de Bourges," several epistles dealing chiefly with minor details of everyday life.[2] That Le Jouvre regarded Fontaine as an eminent poet is shown by the following lines, composed shortly after the writer's recovery from an illness:

[1] The venerable Tamot's verses excited the wrath of the sharp-tongued Colletet, who says (*Vies des poètes françois*, fol. 479): " Quand je vois un vieillard commencer à monter sur le Parnasse en un temps où il ne devrait plus penser qu'à descendre au tombeau, et faire la cour aux doctes pucelles en un âge décrépit où l'on a de coutume de les abandonner, il me semble qu'il n'est pas moins ridicule que de voir un philosophe danser en long habit les matassins et faire publiquement des pantalonnades."

[2] Le Jouvre was rather well known in his day. François Habert, who addressed many poems to him, wrote in his memory an epitaph which begins:

Un Nicolas Le Jouvre surnommé,
François poète excellent renommé,
Grec et latin et de bonne nature,

Tes vers exquis pleins d'amour violente
Le tien amy de mort ont suscité,
Duquel la main tardive et négligente
Avec ton stile as de somme excité:
Or puys que l'as à revivre incité,
Et que de mort a rompu ses obstacles,
Canonisé seras aux habitacles
Des Muses neuf par ta veine immortelle:
Mais tu feras beaucoup de telz miracles
Avant qu'on t'offre ou gros cierge ou chandelle.

Le Jouvre was not the only poet on whom Fontaine's verses had a beneficial effect in the time of illness. Guillaume des Autelz was willing to do without wine, provided his supply of "clear water" lasted:

Monsieur le médecin a dit
Que pour moy le vin est trop chault,
Et pourtant le m'a interdit:
Mais, par mon âme, il ne m'en chault:
Je boy de l'eau clère qui vault
Cent mille fois plus que le vin,
De la fontaine de là hault,
Dont sort le ruisseau caballin.[1]

Bourges, tu as le corps en sépulture,
Dont Saint-Brisson sur Loire sa naissance.
(Cited by Colletet, *Vies des poètes françois*, fol. 307.)

In an epistle (*Les Ruisseaux*, p. 26) Fontaine writes Le Jouvre as follows:

Je suis joyeux qu'as si bien rencontré,
Qu'es en estat, grâce, et promesse entré,
Envers la dame en cueur des plus entières,
C'est à savoir madame de Lynières.
Que pleust à Dieu qu'en veissions maintes telles,
Je n'aurois pas ainsi courtes les ailes,
Un peu plus hault voleroit nostre stile:
Un Mecenas fait bien un bon Vergile.

According to Goujet, Madame de Lynières was Catherine d'Amboise.

[1] For other extracts from Des Autelz's correspondence with Fontaine, see pp. 116 and 117, above. In an epistle written to Fontaine by Des Autelz when a student at Valence (May, 1546), the following interesting lines occur:

Le bruit qu'acquiert nostre docteur Coras,
Qui sans propos inutile et frivole,
Efface ici le grand nom de Bartole.
Desjà il fait venir les transmontains
S'humilier et n'estre tant hautains:
Desjà on voit tomber l'outrecuidance
D'Italiens se venans rendre en France.
Certes Budé l'avoit jà commencé:

Such are a few examples of the verses of the *Passetemps des amis* — mediocre verses from a technical point of view, but of interest because they represent the efforts of a group of honest Frenchmen at a time when almost every man felt it his duty to add to his renown by writing poetry.[1]

In 1555, the year in which the *Ruisseaux* was published, Fontaine received from his fellow citizens of Lyons one of the highest honors in their power to bestow: he was appointed temporary principal of the Collège de la Trinité, then one of the foremost educational institutions of southern France.

M. Ferdinand Buisson, in his study of Sébastien Castellion,[2] gives the following brief account of the founding of the Collège de la Trinité:

> Ce petit collège n'avait été longtemps qu'une modeste école établie dans les "granges"[3] du couvent, au milieu des vignes et des prairies, par les soins et aux frais d'une sorte de confrérie laïque de bourgeois lyonnais. La prospérité même de leur entreprise les avait amenés à la remettre aux mains de la ville en 1527. Le clergé, il est vrai, avait fait des difficultés, réclamé, menacé au nom des droits de l'Église toujours méconnus, mais les échevins avaient tenu bon. L'un d'eux était un homme considérable, aussi célèbre alors qu'oublié depuis, Symphorien Champier, auteur de plus de cinquante ouvrages et, ce qui vaut mieux, fondateur de plusieurs établissements utiles,

Autres savans l'avoyent bien avancé.
Donques Coras maintenant donnera
La fin à tout, Coras couronnera.
(*Les Ruisseaux*, p. 233.)

Jean de Coras (1513–72) taught law at Toulouse, Angers, Orléans, Paris, Valence, Padua, and Ferrara. Bartolus, the Italian jurist and professor, died in 1357.

[1] Cf. Sainte-Beuve, cited by C. H. C. Wright, *A History of French Literature*, New York and London, 1912, p. 133: "On ne songeait pas à l'apanage du talent. On faisait des vers comme on fait de la médecine. Tout lettré faisait des vers. Ainsi les rimes de l'imprimeur Dolet, de l'avocat Sibilet, de Peletier du Mans, de Pasquier."

[2] *Sébastien Castellion, sa vie et son œuvre*, Paris, 1892, vol. i, pp. 17–18. Concerning the Collège de la Trinité, see also Demogeot, *Le Collège de la Trinité*, in *Lyon ancien et moderne*, Lyons, 1838–43, vol. i; Charvet, *Le Collège de la Trinité*, in the *Mémoires de la Société litt. . . . de Lyon*, 1874; Charvet, *Étienne Martellange*, Lyons, 1874, pp. 111–140; J. L. Gerig, *Le Collège de la Trinité avant 1540*, in the *Revue de la Renaissance*, beginning janvier–février, 1908, p. 73.

[3] Maison de ferme et dépendances.

notamment de l'école de médecine; ce fut lui qui, "regrettant de voir mourir l'exercice des bonnes lettres en cette ville et s'efforçant l'y ramener," prit une part décisive à la fondation du collège: il obtint l'assentiment de l'archevêque François de Rohan, moyennant que le choix du recteur fût soumis à l'approbation épiscopale. Le consulat de son côté donna tous ses soins au collège naissant, agrandit les locaux, institua quatre classes, établit une rétribution scolaire (2 sols 4 den.) et appela des professeurs, dont quelques-uns avaient déjà ou eurent bientôt de la renommée.

The first principal of the college was a native of Lyons, Guillaume Durand, an excellent teacher, and the author of several works in Latin. Durand was succeeded by Jean Canappe, a physician, especially celebrated for his efforts toward having surgery taught in the French language, and for his translations of the works of classical writers on medicine. In 1530 Éloy du Verger accepted the principalship, and was replaced shortly after by Jean Raynier, Jacques Vasuel, and Jacques Bobynet or Robynier, who in turn were succeeded in 1533 by Claude de Cublize. Cublize was followed by the most famous teacher in the annals of the Collège de la Trinité, Barthélemy Aneau, the author of the *Quintil Horatian* and of a score of other works, some in Latin, some in French.[1]

Aneau, who had been professor of rhetoric in the college since about 1533, was a native of Bourges, where he studied under Melchior Wolmar, from whom he doubtless got many of the Protestant ideas that brought about his death at the hands of a mob in 1561. He was promoted to the principalship in 1540, and held the position until 1551, when he resigned, probably because of the feeling against him as a Protestant.

Aneau's successor was Jacques Frachet, *licencié en droit*, who began his duties in January, 1552.[2] Frachet was a most unscrupulous person, judging from the following item in the catalogue of the Municipal Archives of Lyons:

[1] Concerning Aneau, see the series of articles by J. L. Gerig in *The Romanic Review*, beginning April–June, 1910, p. 181.

[2] A. Péricaud, *Notes et documents pour servir à l'histoire de Lyon*, Lyons, 1838; see under the date of 15 janvier, 1552.

Indemnité de 15 livres tournois accordée à Jean Baron, à Sébastien Vanerot, et à Michel Carasse, régents du collège de la Trinité, qui avaient été contraints de vivre à l'auberge pendant 18 jours, à cause de la disparition de Jacques Frachet, lequel avait enlevé les meubles de cet établissement, dont il était principal recteur.[1]

After Frachet's hasty departure the college was without a head. Charles Fontaine was chosen to fill the vacancy. The following unpublished document shows that he not only took Frachet's place, but also rendered timely assistance to the three stranded regents mentioned above and to a no less unfortunate porter:

A Me Charles Fontaine, m^e^ ès arz, esleu par provision au colleige de la Trinité dudict Lyon, par mandement du xviij^e^ juillet MV^c^lv et quittance rendue, la somme de VI^xx^l.tz., à luy convenue et accordée estre paiée, tant pour avoir nourry et entretenu audict colleige troys régentz et ung portier qui avoyent esté laissez audict colleige par Me Jacques Fraschet jadis principal d'icelluy, lequel Fraschet auroit absenté ledict colleige et l'auroit laissé despourveu et dénué de tous meubles et sans aulcun gouverneur ne conducteur, au lieu duquel et ad ce que ledict colleige ne demourast despourveu de régentz icelluy Fontaine auroit esté par manière de provision estably et constitué principal, que pour tous despens, dommages et intérest par ledict Fontaine faictz et soustenuz, tant pour avoir renvoyé son mesnage audict colleige que pour ses salles et vacations et aultres fraiz qu'il a esté contrainct faire et supporter pendant ledict temps qu'il a demeuré audict colleige, et pour ce renvoyé en une aultre maison qu'il a esté contrainct louer pour sa demeurance. Pour toutes lesquelles choses luy auroit esté accordé ladicte somme de VI^xx^ livres tournois.[2]

Fontaine held the principalship of the Collège de la Trinité only a few weeks. He was appointed in June, and on July 9 a permanent principal, Jacques Dupuy, was named.[3] Dupuy's conduct was so disgraceful that he was dismissed on July 21, 1558, and Barthélemy Aneau was again called upon to take charge of the school that he had made famous.[4] Aneau accepted

[1] B 77. I prefer citing the brief item of the catalogue to reproducing the original document, which is long and obscure.

[2] Municipal Archives of Lyons, register CC 1018, fol. 16.

[3] Péricaud, *Notes et documents*, etc.; see under the date of 21 juillet, 1558.

[4] "Révocation de Jacques Dupuy, principal du collège de la Trinité, dont la conduite scandaleuse compromettait la bonne renommée de cette institution et avait soulevé l'indignation de tous les honnêtes gens; ouvertures faites à B. Aneau pour l'engager à reprendre la direction de cet établissement." (Catalogue of the Municipal Archives of Lyons, BB 81.)

the position, and held it until his death in 1561. In 1567 the college passed into the hands of the Jesuits, with the celebrated preacher Edmond Auger at its head.

In 1557 Jean Citoys, of Lyons, published Fontaine's *Odes, énigmes, et épigrammes, adressez pour étreines au Roy, à la Royne, à Madame Marguerite, et autres princes et princesses de France.* The enigmas and the epigrams are too trivial to be noticed. The odes are in the main mediocre.[1] A few stanzas of one ode,[2] however, deserve quoting, since they show that Fontaine, forced by want, continued to beg during the reign of Henry II, as he had done during the reign of Francis I. Evidently chagrined at the success of portraitists at court, he draws for the king a parallel between the arts of painting and poetry:

O foible art que l'on vante tant
Que de pourtraire un grand seigneur!
Qui donra mil escus contant
Pour acquérir tant peu d'honneur,

D'avoir son corps ou son seul chef
A quelques yeus représenté,
Soit de plat, ou soit de relief,
Et au vray naïf raporté ?

Peu de gens, et pour peu de temps,
Verront ton image ou pourtrait:
Par cas de feu, de pluye ou vents
Sera consumé ou deffait.

Mais ce que la Muse ha de beau
Se fait bien voir par l'univers:
Tousjours dure son saint tableau,
Coulouré et semé de vers.

Toward the end of the ode, Fontaine, seeking to soften the king, declares that he is not pleading for the poets of France alone, but for the "pale poets" of all lands:

[1] For a list of the persons to whom the poems of the *Odes, énigmes, et épigrammes* are inscribed, see Bibliography, A, no. 16.

[2] P. 5: *Au très chrestien Roy de France, Henry second de ce nom.*

Je ne le di tant seulement
Pour la France assez libérale:
Je le di généralement
Pour toute terre illibérale

Et trop tardive à faire bien
A ceus qui à son loz ne cessent,
Aus pâles poètes, combien
Que dix mil autres s'y engressent.

Another poem of the *Odes, énigmes, et épigrammes* discloses the fact that Fontaine did not confine himself to asking help from afar; he even made a journey to court in behalf of his five children:

Si les mères des oisillons
Par les buissons et les sillons
S'en vont la béchée chercher
Pour l'aporter à leur fruit cher:
Qui est ce qui blâmer pourra
Ma Muse quand elle courra
Vers celle grand' cour honorable,
Des Muses l'honneur et la table,
Pour y rechercher cinq miettes,
Sauvans mes cinq de grans disettes,
Mes cinq petis, à brief parler,
Qui ne peuvent encor voler ?
Mais quand, par temps, voler pourront,
Eux mesmes ils en chercheront.[1]

There is in the *Odes, énigmes, et épigrammes* a short piece which, to say the least, is out of place. Almost the entire volume is addressed to princes and princesses, and yet Fontaine has the impudence to say in reply " to some of his friends who were amazed because he had not been advanced by princes ":

J'ay des moyens (je le say bien)
De rehausser mon petit bien:
Mais pour conclusion donner,
Je n'ay le fait ny le meintien
De flater ny d'importuner.[2]

[1] P. 68: *Raison de son voyage à la court.* M. Clément, in his article on the *Poète courtisan*, makes much of this poem.
[2] P. 81.

Now, it is possible to overlook Fontaine's flattering and importuning, — the customs of the time permitted that; but it is impossible to excuse the sentiments expressed above, which are quite contrary to fact. Like the greater part of contemporary writers, Fontaine flattered and importuned, and he should not have endeavored to conceal his ill success with a falsehood. Certainly he should not have been so injudicious as to put his falsehood in the very volume that contains so much flattery.

It remains to examine the last work published by Fontaine, *Salutation au Roy Charles IX, sus son entrée en sa noble et antique ville de Lyon* (1564).[1] The nature of this poem indicates that Maître Charles was chosen by his townsmen to compose a greeting to the king. The opening lines follow:

Ton grand Lyon t'attendoit en automne,[2]
Roy très humain, laissant face félonne
Que luy avoit donné ce cruel Mars,
Qui tourmentoit ta France en toutes parts:
Mais tout ainsi qu'après le dur yver
Le doulx printemps nous voyons arriver,
La douce paix après la rude guerre
Vient resjouir ta plantureuse terre.[3]
Car dans brief temps toute bellique oppresse
Ton grand païs plus ne charge ne presse,
Donnant congé à ces Italiens
Et Espaignols les armes manians:
Donnant congé aux Reïstres et Suices,
Sus nous (hélas!) descenduz pour noz vices:[4]
Mais deschassant par magnanimité
Tost les Anglois en leur coing limité,
Qui occupoient ton fort Havre de Grâce:[5]
Et puis encor Dieu t'a bien fait la grâce

[1] Lyons, Benoît Rigaud, and Paris, Guillaume de Nyverd.

[2] Charles IX and Catherine de' Medici reached Lyons in the summer of 1564. Their visit was cut short by an epidemic. Cf. A. Steyert, *Nouvelle histoire de Lyon*, Lyons, 1899, vol. iii, pp. 139–140. Fontaine's *Salutation* was finished on June 13, 1564.

[3] The Edict of Amboise, March 19, 1563, closed the First Civil War.

[4] The part played by foreign troops in the Civil Wars is well known.

[5] The English garrison withdrew from Le Havre in August, 1563.

Qu'avecques eulx traictas la belle paix,
Tesmoing la joye et feuz qui en sont faicts:
Car trop mieux vault la paix et alliance
A ses voisins que guerre et deffiance.
Si tels biens feis en ta minorité,[1]
Quels fruicts naîtront de ta majorité ?

Fontaine then sings the praises of Lyons: its artisans are incomparable, its commercial renown world-wide. "Thy father and mother, Charles," he continues, "were warmly received at Lyons in 1548,[2] and the magistracy, princes, counts, viscounts, lords, all the people are ready to welcome thee as they did thy august parents. Theaters will be erected, music will ring, the streets will be thronged with people, the Saône will be covered with boats. Come with all thy pomp, O king, thy faithful city awaits thee with impatience."

Such is the last poem penned by the indefatigable Fontaine. Like the *Ode de l'antiquité et excellence de la ville de Lyon*, the *Ode pour Dieu gard à la ville de Paris*, and the scores of minor pieces addressed by him to the high and the low of the period, its importance lies solely in its value as a historical document.[3]

After 1564 not the slightest trace is to be found of Fontaine. A searching examination of hundreds of volumes of prose and poetry published during the last thirty-six years of the sixteenth century has failed to reveal a reference to him. Did he die shortly after composing his greeting to Charles IX ? Goujet timidly suggests that he may have been living as late as 1588.[4] I

[1] Charles IX was born on June 27, 1550.

[2] Concerning this visit of Henry II and the royal family to Lyons, see J. L. Gerig, *B. Aneau*, in *The Romanic Review*, April–June, 1911, pp. 168 ff.

[3] The *Salutation* was evidently unknown to MM. Vital de Valous and Steyert, who annotated the reprint of the *Discours de l'entrée de Charles IX à Lyon*, Lyons, 1884.

[4] In speaking of the fourth edition of the *Fontaine d'amour*, published in 1588, Goujet says (*Bibl. franç.*, vol. xi, p. 140): ". . . s'il est vrai qu'il vécut encore, comme on le fait entendre, quoiqu'un peu obscurément, dans l'avis au lecteur, il devoit être alors dans un âge avancé." Unfortunately, I have been unable to find a copy of the edition of the *Fontaine d'amour* to which Goujet refers.

am inclined to think that he died many years before that date. It is not likely that such a prolific writer would have laid aside his pen between 1564 and 1588. From 1537 to 1564 he published a score of volumes of prose and poetry, and had he lived after the latter date, he would probably have continued writing. In 1564 he was fifty years old, surely not a sufficiently advanced age to force him into retirement. A poet who had ground out verses in the face of adversity and the triumphant advance of the Pléiade would hardly have ceased writing until the hand of death was upon him. It is impossible, however, to conjecture with any degree of certainty the date of his death. It was probably between 1564 and 1570 that Maître Charles Fontaine, Parisien, borne down by the weight of poverty and freed from all illusions, sought in another world the happiness that had been denied him in this.[1]

[1] It is barely possible that Fontaine was living in 1580. In an edition of the *XXI Épîtres d'Ovide*, published at Paris in that year, there is a poem, *Sonnet acrostichic sur la transmigration des bonnes lettres d'Athènes et Rome à Paris, ès personnes des Héroïdes d'Ovide*, which had not appeared in the three previous editions. It is impossible to decide whether Fontaine was the author of this poem. Had it been written by some one else, it might have borne the author's name. However that may be, the evidence is not conclusive enough to state definitely that Fontaine was still alive in 1580.

CHAPTER XI

CONCLUSION

Recapitulation. — Fontaine's opinion of himself. — The opinions of various critics regarding Fontaine. — The writer's opinion of Fontaine: a mediocre poet; his works are valuable for the general information they contain; a good prose writer; a transition poet. — The generally accepted precursors of the Pléiade. — Why Fontaine must be placed among these precursors. — A typical man of the French Renaissance.

We have now followed Charles Fontaine through fifty years of his active life — all that can be studied in the light of authentic record. Beginning with his birth in the shadow of the towers of Notre-Dame, we have seen him gaining an education at his father's knee, in the Collège du Plessis, and in what is now the Collège de France. We have seen him scorning the counsel of the prudent Jean Dugué and entering the field of letters just in time to take up arms for Marot against Sagon. Then the praises of fellow poets, visions of laurel and immortality, followed by the first setback — the disinclination of Francis I and other princes to recognize his poetic genius. We have seen him journeying across the Alps to the court of Ferrara and returning to Lyons, empty-handed, but not discouraged. We have seen him plunged in sorrow at the bier of Catherine, and filled with joy at his marriage with Marguerite and again at that with Flora. We have seen the picture darken: children on all sides, a lawsuit that helped to usher in gaunt and grim poverty, that made the world look somber. Then the struggle for bread, the printing shop, the Pléiade, the Collège de la Trinité, death, and oblivion. And throughout this more sad than happy life a hail of writings: verses of ambition and verses of despair; translations, epitomes, lamentations, polemics, love remedies, Platonism; discourses on dreams, chiromancy, and duels; proverbs and "sentences";

poems of passion, poems of consolation, licentious poems, poems "to incite to virtue," enigmas, salutations to princes and kings, greetings to friends; remarks on rime, orthography, the methods of translating, the French language, the New World and the Old; flattery of high and low, defense of women and of love, praise of Lyons and of Paris; the New Testament and Saint Augustine, the ten commandments, morning and evening prayers; biographies of Adam, Noah, the Minotaur, François Duaren, and Clément Marot; weights, measures, and emperors of Rome, — in short, a collection of literary productions that bears witness to the utter lawlessness of the French Renaissance.

Let us now see what conclusions may be drawn from the life and works of Fontaine; let us try to point out his defects and his merits, in order that we may determine whether his efforts were in vain, or whether he deserves a niche in the literary history of the century in which he lived.

Fontaine had no doubts about his own greatness:

Je n'ay pas petite puissance,
Ny d'Apollo peu de faveur,
Je sens en moy dès ma naissance
Une poétique ferveur:

Ferveur qui me donne des aesles
Pour voler par tout l'univers:
Aesles qui seront immortelles,
Comme immortelz seront mes vers.[1]

Le blond Phébus m'a bien osé promettre
De rehausser mon beau nom par son mètre,
Et que tandis qu'au haut ciel il luira,
Fontaine en France et hors France on lira.[2]

Xerxès monté dessus une montaigne
Pleura, voyant son camp par la campaigne
(Camp qui n'a eu pareil, ny depuis l'heure,
Ny paravant), disant que fault que meure
Dedans cent ans telle gloire bellique,

[1] *Les Ruisseaux*, p. 137: *A Monsieur de Querinec, et de Coadiunal, gentilshommes de Bretaigne.*

[2] *Odes, énigmes, et épigrammes*, p. 3: *Accointance de Phébus avec l'auteur.*

Sans que de tous un tout seul en demeure:
Mais moy monté sus le mont Thessalique
Certainement tant s'en fault que je pleure,
Voyant marcher l'escadron de mes vers
Près les ruisseaux de ma fontaine ouvers,
Qu'en moy je ri: joye mon cœur époint,
Car tousjours vers jamais ne mourront point.[1]

Fontaine's contemporaries, too, thought him a poet of merit: Clément Marot, Étienne Dolet, Nicolas Bourbon, Jean Voulté, Gilbert Ducher, Charles de Sainte-Marthe, Guillaume des Autelz, Bonaventure du Tronchet, Antoine Pérard, Denys Sauvage, Bérenger de la Tour, Barthélemy Aneau, and some of the more obscure contributors to the *Passetemps des amis* mention him with degrees of admiration ranging from " a young man of great hope " to " the equal of Maro and Marot."

In the seventeenth century, Guillaume Colletet closed his notice on Fontaine with the following encomium:

Et par tant de nobles et de sérieux travaux, dont il obligea la république des bonnes lettres, il éternisa son nom de telle sorte qu'il n'est point de fleuve d'oubli qui en puisse jamais étouffer ou noyer la mémoire.[2]

In the eighteenth century, Goujet was less enthusiastic:

Marot se faisoit gloire de l'avoir pour défenseur, et il avoit raison. Quoique Fontaine lui fût inférieur du côté des talens poétiques, on ne laisse pas de sentir dans sa versification un air aisé, un tour ingénieux, et une certaine finesse dans la raillerie, qui montrent que l'exemple et les leçons de son maître ne lui avoient point été inutiles.[3]

In the nineteenth century, adverse, and occasionally unjust, criticisms of Fontaine began to appear. Viollet-le-Duc, for instance, transfers the " metaphysical jargon " of the *Épître, philosophant sur la bonne amour* to all of Fontaine's works:

Mais si cette action [defense of Marot] indique un bon caractère, porté à la reconnaissance, elle ne prouve rien en faveur du talent poétique de Charles Fontaine, qui était, à mon avis, des plus faibles. Il adopte presque partout

[1] *Les Ruisseaux*, p. 88: *L'Auteur escrit ce douzain à l'honneur de ses vers.* It should be remembered that modesty among the poets of the Renaissance was rare.

[2] Colletet, *Vies des poètes françois.*

[3] *Bibl. franç.*, vol. xi, pp. 112–113.

un langage métaphysique fort étrange. Veut-on, par exemple, avoir un échantillon de son style ? Voici l'extrait d'une "épistre, philosophant sur la bonne amour, à une dame":

Amour, amye, est une passion . . .[1]

On serait tout aussi éloigné d'attribuer ces vers platoniques à un élève de Marot que de supposer que cette définition de "la bonne amour" a pu satisfaire une dame de la cour de François Ier; mais c'est ainsi cependant que procède Charles Fontaine: parlât-il d'amour, de poésie, de simple règle de conduite, il retombe, volontairement sans doute, dans un jargon métaphysique presque inintelligible.[2]

Charles Asselineau says:

Charles Fontaine doit peu compter dans l'histoire de la poésie française, tant par son savoir et ses idées que par ses œuvres. Ses poésies, à part quelques cris éloquents sur la mort de sa sœur, sur la naissance de son fils, etc., ne sortent pas d'une médiocrité correcte, honorable pour un homme de lettres, mais insuffisante pour un poète. . . . On retrouve en lui les qualités que j'ai déjà signalées comme propres aux auteurs parisiens, la facilité, le goût, l'érudition sans pédanterie.[3]

Godefroy was conversant with Goujet:

La douceur, la réserve, la modestie étaient le fond de son caractère . . . La poésie était pour Charles Fontaine une distraction à laquelle, sans prétention, il consacrait ses loisirs. . . . Dans les divers ouvrages dont nous avons parlé, le disciple de Clément Marot a souvent une versification aisée, un tour ingénieux, de la finesse dans la raillerie, mais jamais d'élévation ni de chaleur.[4]

Joseph Désormaux, a most judicious critic, says:

Et d'abord est-ce un poète ? Charles Fontaine est loin d'en avoir le tempérament, car chez lui le souffle poétique est bien rare. . . . Comme traducteur, car on traduisait beaucoup alors, suivant le conseil de Sibilet, il n'est pas non plus au-dessus du médiocre. . . . Dépourvu d'une brillante imagination, sans verve et sans coloris, ce poète ne manque pas de bon sens. Il a compris, lui aussi, qu'il fallait écrire en français, non en latin, et il s'élève avec ardeur contre une coutume qui devait persister longtemps encore.[5]

[1] See p. 101, above.

[2] *Catalogue de la bibliothèque de Monsieur Viollet-le-Duc*, Paris, 1843, p. 296.

[3] Crépet, *Les Poètes français*, 1861, vol. i, p. 649.

[4] *Hist. de la litt. franç. depuis le XVIe siècle jusqu'à nos jours*, 2d ed., 1897, vol. i, p. 448.

[5] *Revue du siècle*, 1889, pp. 49–50.

Birch-Hirschfeld:

Sonst ist seine Dichtung eine persönliche wie die Marot's und seiner Schule . . . Fontaine ist von einem innigen Familiengefühl beseelt . . . Seine übrigen Poesien [that is, besides the poems on the death of Catherine and the birth of Jean] zeichnet nur ein leichter Gedankenfluss aus und eine klare, natürliche Sprache; Hervorbringungen eines originalen Geistes sind diese " Bäche der Quelle " nicht . . . Eigentlicher Hofdichter ist Fontaine nicht geworden.[1]

Morf:

Aber nicht höfisch, sondern bürgerlich ist seine Muse. Fehlt ihr die Eleganz, so besitzt sie doch Tiefe der Empfindung und gesunde Ehrbarkeit.[2]

Tilley:

Charles Fontaine is known by a single poem, the beautiful lines on the birth of his son Jean.[3]

It will be observed that virtually all these critics consider only Fontaine the poet, and that nearly all find the poet mediocre or worse. Such is unquestionably the case. Notwithstanding his lofty idea of his mission, his unbounded self-confidence, and his rather amusing vanity, he lacked that " ardante et saincte phrénésie " about which he liked to prate; he lacked imagination, wit, spontaneity, inventiveness, and, generally, good taste. He was especially afflicted with what some one has aptly styled

[1] *Geschichte der franz. Litt.*, 1889, vol. i, p. 147.

[2] *Geschichte der neueren franz. Litt.*, 1898, vol. i, p. 53; repeated in his *Geschichte der franz. Literatur im Zeitalter der Renaissance*, zweite . . . Aufl., Strassburg, 1914, pp. 62–63.

[3] *The Literature of the French Renaissance*, 1904, vol. i, p. 85. — It should be said that the opinions of some of the critics cited above are of no value. Their articles on Fontaine show either that they got their information at second hand or that they invented it. For instance, Godefroy, after reproducing some of Goujet's statements, ventured to give information of his own. Such astonishing declarations as the following were the result: " Charles Fontaine était mathématicien, philosophe, orateur, théologien, jurisconsulte, médecin, astronome, musicien." Asselineau was not even acquainted with the titles of the works he was censuring. In his hands the *Mimes de Publian* became the *Mânes de Publian*, the *Nouvelles et antiques merveilles* became the *Nouvelles d'antiques merveilles*, Symposius was transformed into Seselome, and the *Traité des douze Césars* was metamorphosed into a treatise on the Lacertilia — *Traité de douze lézards!*

"a deplorable facility." When once he took up his pen and began dashing off flat and pointless "épisseries" — insipid puns, dull messages to friends, uninteresting reminiscences, silly compliments, and similar inanities — he did not know when to stop;[1] when he tried to rise above the "épisseries" and to write more lofty poems, the result was often ludicrous. "Simple versificateur," rightly says Désormaux, "il oublie trop souvent que la poésie ne consiste pas à aligner des rimes à la fin des vers; encore ses rimes sont-elles loin d'être toujours riches."[2]

In the heap of Fontaine's mediocre verse there are naturally a few good poems. As M. Chamard and others have remarked, he was at his best in his elegies: the laments on the death of Catherine and René, and the lighter elegies of the *Fontaine d'amour*. The *Chant sur la naissance de Jean* has won the praise of all critics. An epigram here and there is tolerable. These are practically all of his verses in which we find qualities that satisfy our modern idea of poetic excellence. Like many another writer who has had sound theories on poetry, he was generally prevented by his lack of creative power from composing good poetry.

Let us now see whether we cannot find in Fontaine's works something that will serve to offset his mediocrity as a poet.

First of all, his extensive relations with men of all callings and his familiarity with the most important literary and historical events of his day make his numerous publications an abundant store of information. The literary historian cannot afford to overlook the pieces that Fontaine inscribed to Clément Marot, Lyon Jamet, Mellin de Saint-Gelais, Maurice Scève, Barthélemy Aneau, Antoine du Moulin, Gilbert Ducher, Denys Sauvage, Pierre Saliat, Hugues Salel, Guillaume des Autelz, Étienne Forcadel, Jean de Boyssonné, Jacques Gohorry, Claude Chappuys, Louis Chesneau, Jacques Amyot, Guillaume Aubert, Michel de l'Hospital, Pierre Danès, Lancelot de Carles, Marguerite de

[1] See, for instance, *Estreines à certains seigneurs et dames de Lyon* and *Odes, énigmes, et épigrammes*.

[2] *Revue du siècle*, vol. iii, p. 46.

Navarre, Jean des Gouttes, Étienne Pasquier, Ronsard, Du Bellay, Dorat, Jodelle, Magny, Tyard, Belleau, Baïf, and scores of others.[1] Nor can the historian proper afford to neglect the *Ode de l'antiquité et excellence de la ville de Lyon*, the *Salutation au Roy Charles IX*, the *adieux* and the *Dieu gard* to Lyons and Paris, the countless "épisseries" addressed to doctors, lawyers, prelates, printers, municipal officers, king's officers, ambassadors, painters, and musicians. It matters little whether or not Fontaine was acquainted with all the persons to whom he dedicated verses; he was a contemporary, and knew important facts relating to those persons — facts which are to be found only in his works, and which help to compose the history of one of the most important and most complicated epochs in the history of France.[2]

A good deal of information is also to be derived from the prefaces and dedicatory epistles that Fontaine inserted in nearly every volume he published; for example, the liminary pieces of the two epitomes of Artemidorus's dream book contain curious ideas on a common superstition; the dedicatory epistle of the *Nouvelles et antiques merveilles* sets forth the views of a cultivated man on the then recently discovered New World; the dedication of the translation of the first book of Saint Augustine's *De Praedestinatione Sanctorum* gives us a glimpse of the Christian beliefs that enabled Fontaine to withstand the buffets of an unhappy life; the preface to the *Fontaine d'amour* shows the paganizing influence of the Renaissance on a Frenchman of intelligence; the notices in the translation of the *Heroides* make known the author's

[1] For details of the literary history of the middle of the sixteenth century, no contemporary writer is quoted more often than Fontaine.

[2] M. Buisson (*Sebastien Castellion*, vol. i, p. 29) says concerning the *Epigrammata* of Ducher and other Latin poets: "N'eût été l'ingénue vanité de ces premiers amants de la Renaissance française, rien de tout cela n'aurait survécu, méritant si peu de survivre. Pourtant, avec un peu de patience, on tirerait de ces quelques volumes un tableau presque complet de la société cultivée de Lyon." The same may be said of Fontaine's epigrams. — Considered from the right point of view, not merely that of literary worth, the *Ruisseaux de Fontaine* is as interesting as any other collection of verse published in France during the century.

theories on translating; and even the preface to Fontaine's most worthless production, the *Figures du Nouveau Testament*, contains his ideas on a question then of great moment — the question of orthography. Not only do these epistles and prefaces contain interesting details relating to Fontaine and his time, but they furnish the best example of his prose. No critic, except Colletet, has ever considered Maître Charles for anything but his poetry, and such treatment is unjust. Let the reader turn back to the extracts quoted from the prefaces mentioned above, and I am sure that he will agree with the author of the *Vies des poètes françois* that the language in which they are couched is " strong and reasonable," and " more polished than Fontaine's time seemed to permit."

It has been customary so long to class Fontaine as a member of the school of Marot, and nothing more, that I may seem somewhat rash when I express the opinion that this classification must be changed. In many respects Fontaine was indeed a member of Marot's school; in other respects he so differed from the old school that only one conclusion is possible: he must be ranked as a transitional poet between the school of Marot and the Pléiade. To those who have become used to thinking of him as the disciple, the friend, and the defender of Marot, as the crony of the poets of the *Passetemps des amis*, and as the author of empty epigrams, enigmas, translations, " familiar and domestic " epistles, *estreines*, *Dieu gard*, *adieux*, and *chants*, it may seem too hazardous to apply the overworked word " precursor " to him. The fact also that he engaged in several of the controversies so dear to the " Marotteaux " — the dispute between Marot and Sagon, the discussion with Papillon on the *Victoire et triumphe d'Argent*, and the " querelle des amies "[1] — has led critics to regard him as an opponent of Ronsard, Du Bellay, and their followers, especially so as he was long held to be the author of the *Quintil Horatian* and the target for the *Poète courtisan*, the *Nouvelle manière de faire son*

[1] It should be remembered that the poems connected with these controversies were the only works by Fontaine that were published before Marot's death (1544).

profit des Lettres, and a slur or two in the *Deffence*. However, that he, like several other members of the Lyonese school, was not a "pure disciple" of Marot[1] will, I think, be made clear by the reasons set forth below.

But before considering Fontaine's claims, let us see who are the accepted precursors of the Pléiade, and why they have been accepted.[2]

First of all, Maurice Scève, the chief of the Lyonese school, because he was learned; because he sought to elevate the tone of French literature by dangling the 449 dizains of his *Délie* far above the heads of the common herd; because *Délie* shows the effect of strong Italian influence; because his series of dizains was "the forerunner of those sonnet-sequences addressed to real or imaginary mistresses which, beginning with Du Bellay's *Olive*, were produced in such numbers in France during the latter half of the sixteenth century" (Tilley); because he at times had the "ability to express a serious poetical idea in stately verse" (Tilley); because "he worshipped new words, uncommon epithets, and, seeking to fix delicate shades of meaning, called to his aid strange figures borrowed from metaphysics, astrology, and astronomy" (Bourciez); and because with him a "feeling for art came into French poetry" (Brunetière).[3]

Antoine Héroët, a learned man, who, in the *Parfaicte Amye*, set forth the Neo-Platonic philosophy of love; who, with Scève,

[1] Cf. Bourciez, in Petit de Julleville's *Hist. de la langue et de la litt. franç.*, vol. iii, p. 131: "Louise Labé, non plus que les autres poètes de Lyon, ne doit donc point être rangée parmi les purs disciples de Marot."

[2] I give the opinions of the following critics: Bourciez, *Les Mœurs polies et la littérature de cour sous Henri II*, ch. IV, and Petit de Julleville, vol. iii, pp. 129, 130; Brunetière, *Études critiques sur l'hist. de la litt. franç.*, 6e série, 1889, pp. 79–95: *Un précurseur de la Pléiade, Maurice Scève;* Tilley, *The Literature of the French Renaissance*, vol. i, pp. 136 ff.; Vianey, *L'Influence italienne chez les précurseurs de la Pléiade*, in the *Bulletin italien*, vol. iii, pp. 85 ff.; C. Ruutz-Rees, *Charles de Sainte-Marthe*, pp. 222 ff.

[3] For the view that Scève was "un isolé, et à certains égards un attardé, dans sa cité lyonnaise," and that he had no influence on the members of the Pléiade, Tyard excepted, see P. Laumonier, in the *Œuvres poétiques de Jacques Peletier du Mans*, Séché edition, Paris, 1904, pp. 147–148.

waged war on ignorance; and whose verse, although prosaic, is unaffected and unpedantic.

Jacques Peletier, a learned man, whose translation of Horace's *Ars Poetica* (1544) contains a dedication in which are advanced many of the ideas that appeared later in the *Deffence*; who wrote fifteen sonnets, twelve of which were translated from Petrarch; who described the beauties of nature in a truly poetic manner; and who experimented in verse forms.

Mellin de Saint-Gelais, a learned man, who, after Marot, was the best craftsman of the time; who may have introduced the sonnet into France; and who introduced the imitation of Italian models into French literature.

To these four poets may be added Jean Lemaire de Belges, because he introduced the *terza rima* into France; Clément Marot, because he wrote twelve sonnets, six of which were translated from Petrarch; Marguerite de Navarre, on account of her Platonism; Charles de Sainte-Marthe, because of his learning, his Petrarchism, and his Platonism; and, finally, Hugues Salel, because of his imitation of Italian models.[1]

Charles Fontaine must be placed among these forerunners of the Pléiade on account of (1) his learning, (2) his imitation of Italian models before 1549, (3) his Platonism, (4) the fact that he anticipated some of the ideas of the Pléiade, and before 1549 employed some of the poetic forms recommended by Du Bellay in the *Deffence*.

(1) That Fontaine was a learned man is shown by considerable evidence.[2] After securing his master's degree at the Collège du Plessis, he studied under the newly appointed *lecteur royal* Pierre Danès, one of the foremost humanists of the day. A few years

[1] Jacques Tahureau and Louise Labé are sometimes ranked among the precursors of the Pléiade. M. Chamard (*Joachim du Bellay*, p. 354, note 14) has shown that nearly all of Tahureau's poetry was written after 1550. Concerning Louise Labé, Mr. Tilley says (vol. ii, p. 19): "Her poems did not appear till the year 1555, and her use of the sonnet-form shews that they must almost certainly have been written after 1549."

[2] I make no attempt to distinguish between Fontaine's learning before 1549 and after.

later he supplemented his book learning by a journey to Italy, during which he visited Turin, Pavia, Cremona, Mantua, Venice, Ferrara, Vercelli, and Milan. After a sojourn of probably a year in Italy, he returned to France, and devoted himself to a literary life and to the printing and publishing trade. His works show that he had a wide knowledge of the classics; he imitated, translated, quoted, borrowed from, or mentioned Alcaeus, Anacreon, Aristotle, Artemidorus, Crates, Diodorus Siculus, Euripides, Galen, Heliodorus, Herodotus, Hippocrates, Homer, Lycurgus, Musaeus, Pindar, Plato, Plutarch, Ptolemy, The Seven Wise Men of Greece, Simonides, Socrates, Solon, Stesichorus, Strabo, Synesius, Saint Augustine, Ausonius, Boethius, Cato, Catullus, Cicero, Hadrian, Horace, Juvenal, Martial, Ovid, Publilius Syrus, Seneca, Suetonius, Symposius (or Lactantius), Terence, Valerius Maximus, and Virgil.[1] His works also show that he was well versed in mythology and ancient history. His interest in antiquity led him to choose Budé's *De Asse* as a suitable work for vulgarization; his interest in the New World led him to publish an epitome dealing with the voyages of Columbus; his knowledge of the history of Lyons enabled him to write an ode which must be considered in compiling a complete history of that city; his competence, and the fact that he had written his ode on the antiquity and excellence of Lyons, probably caused the Lyonese to select him to pen the official *Salutation au Roy Charles IX*. The fact that he was a corrector and an editor in the employ of the printers and publishers Thibaud Payen, Sébastien Gryphe, Pierre de Tours, Guillaume Roville, and Jean de Tournes, while not conclusive proof of his learning, must be mentioned in the cumulative evidence. There is no doubt that he was chosen by Guillaume Roville to translate the encyclopaedic *Promptuarium* from Latin into French for the very reason that the task required a man of learning. A final proof of his erudition is that

[1] See also Bibliography, A, no. 17, *Les Dicts des sept Sages*, for a list of Greek and Roman writers, from whose works Fontaine made a collection of precepts, "par longue lecture."

in 1555 he was elected temporary principal of the Collège de la Trinité, a position in which he had as a predecessor and as a successor Barthélemy Aneau, one of the lights of French humanism.

(2) It was probably during Fontaine's stay in Italy that he became acquainted with the Italian writers under whose influence he came later: Castiglione, Sannazaro, and perhaps Petrarch, Cariteo, Tebaldeo, Serafino, and others. The works in which an Italian influence is found are: the *Contr'amye de Court* (borrowings from Castiglione's *Cortegiano*); *Épître, philosophant sur la bonne amour* (a page from the *Cortegiano*, with Fontaine's comments and amplifications); the *Fontaine d'amour* (references to the Italian journey, four epigrams from Sannazaro, Petrarchistic style and *concetti* in some of the elegies and epistles);[1] the *Éclogue marine* (in imitation of Sannazaro's piscatory eclogues, perhaps, though not necessarily, through the medium of Hugues Salel). Besides these borrowings from or imitations of Italian authors, Fontaine translated Suetonius's *Vitae Caesarum* from Italian into French; and, for the sake of completeness, I shall add that he spoke in high terms of Leon Battista Alberti's *Deiphira*. It should be remembered that, although his indebtedness to Italy is unmistakable, he did not, as Édouard Fournier pretended, so admire the Italians that "he scorned the French Minerva."

(3) Fontaine's Platonism appears in the *Contr'amye de Court*, an exposition of "honneste amour" interspersed with borrowings from the *Symposium* and the *Phaedrus*, and in the *Épître, philosophant sur la bonne amour*, derived from the *Cortegiano*, to which it owes its Neo-Platonic ideas. These two poems give Fontaine the right to take his stand beside Antoine Héroët as a forerunner of the Pléiade, since Héroët's Platonism alone entitles him to rank with Scève and Peletier.[2] The *Contr'amye de Court* and the

[1] M. Laumonier (*Ronsard poète lyrique*, p. 20, note 1) thinks that the *Fontaine d'amour* suffices to make Fontaine "un précurseur de la Pléiade."

[2] Héroët's learning and his waging war on ignorance, his other claims to fame, are, of course, connected with his Platonism. As a poet, he was not superior to Fontaine. As a man of taste, he was, however, the latter's superior.

Épître contain every essential idea of Héroët's *Parfaicte Amye* except one, and, as I have said already, only a portion of this conception is to be found in Plato.[1] Fontaine's importance in the " querelle des amies " as the first poet to take issue with the *Amie de Court*, and as the standard-bearer around whom the defenders of " honneste " and Platonic love rallied, cannot be denied. Nor should it be forgotten that, with the exception of a feeble effort or two — such as a few minor poems in Charles de Sainte-Marthe's *Poésie françoise* — the *Contr'amye de Court* was the first important original work in French that showed a distinct Platonic influence.

(4) Finally, Fontaine entertained many of the ideas of the Pléiade before 1549. He believed in the lofty mission and the divine inspiration of the poet, and he believed that the poet should labor hard and long over his verses. He often talked about being a poet by nature, but most of his works show (that is, most of his works published before the *Deffence*) that, like Du Bellay, he thought culture necessary, and that, like Du Bellay, culture to him meant the study of the classics and the modern Italians. In his imitation of classic and Italian models, he anticipated Du Bellay's recommendation that they be devoured, digested, and assimilated, not imitated servilely; as, for instance, in the *Élégie sur le trespas de Catherine Fontaine* and the elegies and epistles and some of the epigrams of the *Fontaine d'amour*.

In his criticism of the French language and literature as compared with the Greek, Latin, and Italian languages and literatures, and in his defense of the French language and literature, Fontaine also anticipated Du Bellay. Before 1549 he reproached " quelques gens eshontez " and " quelques Latins " for scorning French poetry and for preferring Greek, Latin, and Italian poetry to French. After 1549 he repeated several times that, although he could write in Latin " plus amplement et doctement," he wrote in French because he wished to honor his own language as the Latins did theirs. In connection with his defense of the French

[1] Cf. p. 112, note 4, above.

language, he defended rime in French poetry, another point in which he anticipated the *Deffence*.

Of the forms of poetry recommended by Du Bellay, we have seen that before 1549 Fontaine wrote epigrams in imitation of Martial, elegies and epistles in imitation of Ovid, and probably a marine eclogue in imitation of Sannazaro; and that after 1549 he tried to follow Du Bellay's advice by composing odes.

Fontaine expressed admiration for the Pléiade because he saw that they were in the main good poets with some good ideas. In only one particular — concerning translations — did he show dissatisfaction with the teachings of the new school, and in that particular he was in the right. He addressed friendly verses to the members of the Pléiade, who scorned him — the reputed author of the *Quintil Horatian*.

It is interesting to note that the Pléiade had virtually no effect upon Fontaine. Before 1549 he published his poems in defense of Marot, the *Response* to Papillon's *Victoire et triumphe d'Argent*, the *Contr'amye de Court*, the *Fontaine d'amour*, one translation (*Épitomé des trois premiers livres de Artemidorus*), and one volume of "épisseries" (*Estreines à certains seigneurs et dames de Lyon*); and before 1549 he composed important poems that were published after 1549: *Épître, philosophant sur la bonne amour*, the *Éclogue marine* (probably), the elegies on the death of Catherine and René, and the *Chant sur la naissance de Jean*. After 1549 he published a dozen translations (with his theories on translation), three volumes of "épisseries," the *Figures du Nouveau Testament*, and the *Salutation au Roy Charles IX*. In short, although Fontaine must be regarded as a precursor of the Pléiade, the Pléiade had no influence on him, except that it suggested to him the use of the ode and of a few metrical structures. Strangely enough, his ideas and his works before 1549 were more original and more like those of the Pléiade than were his ideas and his works after 1549. After 1549 he became a "pure disciple" of Clément Marot (except in his odes); before 1549 he was a disciple of Marot and a forerunner of the Pléiade.

Had Fontaine never lived, the French language and literature would have followed essentially the course they did follow, since circumstances over which no one man had any control were shaping that course. But Fontaine lived and worked conscientiously for the betterment of the French language and literature, and he must be reckoned with as one who, to the best of his ability, helped to fashion the language and the literature of his century. Endowed with an alert, inquisitive mind, he was above all a kind of receptacle for many of the most important ideas of the Renaissance, some of which he was among the first of his contemporaries to adopt. In the wide range of subjects with which he dealt, in his eagerness to acquire and to dispense knowledge, in his restlessness and his untiring activity he is a typical man of the French Renaissance, or, to use the words of M. Émile Roy, " si le poète est médiocre, l'homme est un curieux témoin de son temps, et le nombre même et la variété de ses relations font de lui une sorte de bibliothèque vivante du XVIe siècle." [1]

[1] *Charles Fontaine et ses amis*, in the *Revue d'Hist. litt. de la France*, 1897, p. 419. It will be remembered that Étienne Dolet (*Doleti poemata*, Lyons, 1538, p. 62) said that the great humanist Jacques Toussain was " deservedly entitled the living library."

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

In treating the family of Charles Fontaine, I had occasion to speak briefly of Jean, at whose birth was written the *Chant sur la naissance de Jean, second filz de l'auteur*,[1] which is generally regarded as Maître Charles's nearest approach to real poetry. In another piece Fontaine gave Jean the following advice:

> Sers bien Dieu, li bien, escri bien,
> Honore père, mère, et maistre:
> En ce faisant tu pourras estre
> Un jour en honneur et en bien.[2]

Since Jean tried to carry out his father's wishes in so far as writing well was concerned, it will be worth while to collect the few scattered facts relating to him and to examine the single work that he wrote, or at least the only one that has come down to us.

Two allusions in the *Chant sur la naissance de Jean* show that he was born during the closing years of the reign of Francis I. Fontaine addressed his son thus:

> Vien voir la paix en France descendue:
> Vien voir François, nostre Roy et le tien . . .
> Vien voir ton père en procès et en peine.

The peace referred to was probably that of Crépy, made between Francis I and Charles V in September, 1544. Concerning Fontaine's lawsuit many details have already been given. Maître Charles set out for Paris in 1547 to lay his case before Parliament.[3] The suit had been previously decided in the poet's favor at Lyons, and if we take into consideration the law's delay in the sixteenth century, we are safe in assuming that the suit began in Lyons as early as 1545 or 1546.[4]

[1] Cf. p. 122, above. [2] *Les Ruisseaux*, p. 187. [3] Cf. p. 130, note 2, above.

[4] Elsewhere in the *Chant sur la naissance de Jean*, Fontaine says:

> vien voir ton père aussi,
> Qui a passé sa jeunesse soudaine,
> Et à trente ans est en peine et souci.

"Trente ans" can be only an approximation, since Fontaine (born in 1514) married Flora, Jean's mother, in February, 1544, and Jean was not their first child.

Concerning Jean's early years nothing is known. Maître Charles composed several poems in his honor, but they are filled with the merest commonplaces.

The nature of the work that we have from Jean's pen seems to indicate that he was a teacher. This work, the first edition of which, according to Du Verdier,[1] appeared at Lyons in 1562, bears the following title: *Hortulus puerorum pergratus ac perutilis, Latine discentibus* . . . It is quite like modern conversation books. The titles of a few of the chapters will show the kind of topics treated: *De partibus corporis humani exterioribus; De interioribus; De re vestiaria; De re utensili; De mensa cibaria; De arboribus; De piscibus; De fructibus; De coloribus; De avibus*, etc. Under these headings the author placed a considerable number of Latin words, followed by definitions in Latin. Of this Latin word-book he made a French-Latin version, that is, the words are given in French, defined in Latin, and commented on in French.

The volume was dedicated to Jean Gravier, secretary of the city of Lyons, to whom Charles Fontaine inscribed numerous poems and epistles. After praising Gravier's virtue and intelligence, Jean informs him that the *Hortulus* was prepared especially for the benefit of Gravier's son Antoine. Among his comments on his book, Jean says: "In qua cognitionis farragine, et si nonnulla Graeco fonte detorta insevimus, ubique tamen patris mei Caroli Fontani judicium adhibere visum est."

The *Hortulus* contains several Latin poems by Jean, the titles of which are given below.

With the exception of the *Hortulus* and the poems addressed to him by his father, information concerning Jean is totally lacking. It may be conjectured, however, that he lived and died in his native city, Lyons, since all the early editions of the *Hortulus* were published there.

A description of the earliest edition of the *Hortulus* that I have been able to find is as follows:

HORTVLVS || PVERORVM PER- || gratus ac perutilis, Latinè || discen tibus. || Summa capita pagellae septima & seq. indicant. || *Adiecimus duos in calce Dialogos cum* || *quorumdam ludorum explicatione.* || PETIT IARDIN, || Pour les Enfans fort agreable & profi- || table pour aprendre

[1] Vol. ii, p. 415. The date assigned by Du Verdier is questionable.

Latin. || Le Sommaire du Liuret est de- || clairé à la vij page. || [Mark.] || PARISIIS, || Apud Hubertum Hunot, è regione Col- || legij Rhemensis, ad Pocula Passerum. || 1600.

8vo. Two parts in one volume. First part, 4 ff. unnumbered, 62 ff. numbered. Second part, 96 pp. numbered. Bibl. Nat., X. 8857.

First part:

Reverse of title blank. F. ãij r°, dedication, *Ioannes Fontanus D. Ioanni Gravario à Secretis domus publi. Lugd. S. D.* F. ãij v°, Latin poem, *Ioannes Fontanus ad Atonium* [sic] *Gravarium probae indolis puerum.* F. ãiij v°, *Index, vel summa libelli.* F. ãiiij r°, *Sommaire du livre.* F. 1 r°, *Hortulus.* . . . F. 59 v°, Latin poem, *Ad Iacobum Pagium.* F. 60 r°, Latin poem, *Ad Andraeam Laurentium puerum virtutis, literarumque studiosum.* F. 61 r°, Latin poem, *Ad Iulium Spinam.* F. 62 r°, *Epitaphium de obitu Iulii Spinae anno 1558, mense Martio.* F. 62 v°, *Epitaphium de Carolo Fontano filio.*

Second part:

PETIT IARDIN || POVR LES ENFANS, || FORT AGREABLE ET || profitable pour appren- || dre Latin: || *Distingué par Chapitres, & selon l'ordre* || *Alphabetique, commençeant par les vocables François.* || Par || IEAN FONTAINE. || A PARIS, || Chez Hubert Hunot, pres le College || de Reims, à l'enseigne du Pot || a moineaux. || M.D.CV [1605].

The second part is taken up entirely by the *Petit Jardin.*

Editions I have seen or have seen noticed: Lyons, Loys et Charles Pesnot, 1562 and 1571; Lyons, Jean Lertout, 1581 and 1584; Lyons, Charles Pesnot, 1581; Lyons, haeredes Benedicti Rigaud, 1598; Paris, Hubert Hunot, 1600, 1605, and 1606; Paris, P.-L. Febvrier, 1605 and 1606; Rouen, Jean Petit, 1612; Reims, Nicole Constant, 1626; Rouen, J. de Manneville, 1668.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A DETAILED bibliography of the works of Charles Fontaine has never been attempted before. In a reprint of Fontaine's *Ode de l'antiquité et excellence de la ville de Lyon* (Lyons, 1889), Léon Galle published a bibliography which is merely a brief list of the volumes with which the bibliographer was acquainted. The value of this list is impaired by numerous omissions and inaccuracies. For instance, Galle attributes to Fontaine *Les Dicts et sentences dorez des très illustres sept Sages de Grèce. Traduicts de grec en vers latins par le poëte Ausone, et de luy en rithme françoyse*, Lyons, Benoît Rigaud, 1586. On folio A2 of this volume there is an *Epistre au roy par François Habert*, the rightful author. Galle also ascribes to Charles Fontaine the pieces composed by Calvy de la Fontaine during the controversy between Marot and Sagon; also the *Quintil Horatian*. Furthermore, Galle does not take the reader beyond the title-page or the dedication of the works enumerated, and so his bibliography is of no value to those who wish to secure information concerning the men and women of the Renaissance.

In the present bibliography I have endeavored to give a complete description of all of Fontaine's works and to reproduce the name of every contemporary that figures in them. I have deemed it unnecessary to increase the tediousness of my task by pointing out the errors of Galle, Brunet, Graesse, and other bibliographers. Nor have I thought it worth while to quote the present or past market values of Fontaine's works. Suffice it to say that all are rare and costly, and that the prices vary according to circumstances.

A. PRINCIPAL WORKS OF CHARLES FONTAINE

1537

1. Les disciples & || AMYS DE MAROT CONTRE || SAGON, LA HVETERIE, ET || Leurs adherentz. || On les vend a Paris en la Rue sainct Iac- || ques, pres sainct Benoist, a lenseigne du || Croissant, en la boutique de Iehã Morin. || M.D.XXXVII.

   8vo. 36 ff. unnumbered. Signatures A–I fours. Bibl. Nat., Réserve Ye. 1582; Bibl. de Versailles, E 352c, 1ᵉ pièce.

Title, woodcut representing three men writing at three tables, their feet resting on three animals—calf, donkey, and monkey (reproduced by E. Picot, *Cat. Rothschild*, vol. i, p. 436, and vol. iii, p. 413).

In this volume are the following pieces by Charles Fontaine: F. 17 v°, Latin epigram, *In eundem Saguntinum. C. Fontaines* [sic]. F. 18 r°, *Epistre a Sagon et a la Hueterie par C. Fontaines. Dixain conforme aux vers precedens par Charles Fontaines.* Also *In eum qui scripsit in Marotum*, probably by Fontaine.

The *Disciples et amys de Marot* also contains pieces by the following authors: Janus Parrhasius, poeta Senogalliensis; Maistre Nicole Glotelet, de Victry en Partoys; Bonadventure [des Périers], valet de chambre de la Royne de Navarre; Christophe Richer; C[alvy] de la Fontaine; several anonymous writers.

At least two other editions of the *Disciples et amys de Marot* are known: Lyons, Pierre de Saincte-Lucie, dit le Prince, without date (Bibl. Nat., Réserve Ye. 1579); Paris, pres le college de Reims, a lenseigne du Phœnix, without date (Arsenal, B.L. 6427A, 8e pièce).

The *Disciples et amys de Marot* also appeared in the following collections.

(1) *Plusieurs | traictez, par aucuns | nouueaulx poetes, du different | de Marot, Sagon, et la | Hueterie. | Avec le Dieu gard du- | dict Marot. | Epistre composee par Marot, de la veue du | Roy et de Lempereur. | Dont le contenu est de lautre coste | de ce fueillet. | Parisiis | 1539.* M. Paul Bonnefon (*Revue d'Hist. litt. de la France*, 1894, p. 103, note 1) mentions two other editions of this volume, 1537 and 1538, *sine loco*. For a detailed description of the 1539 edition, see Picot, *Cat. Rothschild*, vol. i, p. 432.

(2) *Œuvres de Clément Marot*, Lenglet-Dufresnoy edition, The Hague, 1731, 12mo, 6 vol., vol. vi; the same, 1731, 4to, 4 vol., vol. iv.

M. Picot (*Cat. Rothschild*, vol. iii, p. 406) describes a *Recueil de pièces sur la querelle de Marot et de Sagon*, 1537, and M. Bonnefon (*Revue d'Hist. litt. de la France*, 1894, p. 104, note 1) mentions a similar collection (Arsenal, B.L. 6427A), both of which contain the *Disciples et amys de Marot.*

2. LE VALET || DE MAROT CONTRE || SAGON, || Cum Commento. || On les vend a Paris en la Rue sainct Iacques || pres sainct Benoist, en la bouticque de || Iehan Morin, pres les troys Couronnes ||dargent. || 1537.

8 vo. 8 ff. unnumbered. Signatures A–B fours. Bibl. Nat., Y. 4503; Bibl. de Versailles, E 352e, 3e pièce.

Title, woodcut representing Frippelippes beating a monkey (sagouin = Sagon) with a stick (reproduced by Guiffrey, vol. i, p. 352). Reverse of title, two Latin distichs by Christophe Richer. F. 2 r°, *Frippelippes secretaire de Clement Marot a Francoys Sagon, secretaire de l'abbe de Sainct-Ebvroul*, by Marot. F. 7 r°-f. 8 r°, short Latin poem, *In eum qui scripsit in Marotum, hendecasyllabum*, probably by Charles Fontaine; *Dizain conforme aux vers precedans, par Charles Fontaines; Huictain envoye a Clement Marot par ung sien amy*, author unknown. F. 8 v°, blank.

Another edition, Lyons, Pierre de Saincte-Lucie, called le Prince, 8vo, 8 ff., without date, is mentioned in the Catalogue Yéméniz, no. 1722.

3. La victoi-|| re & Triumphe d'Ar-|| gent contre Cupido || dieu d'Amours n'a || guieres uain- || cu dedans || Paris. || m.d.xxxvii. || On les vend a Lyon chez || Francoys Iuste pres nostre || Dame de Confort.

Small 16mo. 16 ff. unnumbered, v° of last fol. blank. Signatures A–B eights. Two woodcuts. Bibl. Nat., Réserve Ye. 1601.

The title is surrounded by a flowery border. Reverse of title blank. F. 2 r°, *La Victoire et Triumphe d'Argent contre Cupido*, etc. F. 5 r°, *Ordonnance d'Argent*. F. 9 r°, huitain, *A l'honneur d'une dame de Paris honneste et loyalle*. F. 9 v°, *Excuse aux honnestes et loyalles dames et damoyselles de Paris*. F. 10 r°, *Fin*. These poems appeared anonymously. Brunet ascribes them to Almaque Papillon. Concerning the *Victoire et triumphe d'Argent*, M. Picot says (*Cat. Rothschild*, vol. iv, p. 293): "Ce poème, ordinairement attribué, mais sans preuves suffisantes, à Almaque Papillon, se retrouve dans plusieurs manuscrits et la Bibliothèque nationale en possède une édition du xvie siècle. M. G. Schmilinsky l'a réimprimé en l'accompagnant d'une traduction en vers allemands (*Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Litteraturen*, t. xcv, 1895, pp. 131–152)." Only the following is Fontaine's work:

F. 10 v°, response faicte || a l'encontre d'vn || petit liure, intitulé le Triumphe || & la Victoire D'argent cõtre || Cupido n'aguieres vaincu || dedãs Paris. Par mai- || stre Charles || Fontaines. F. 16 r°, *Fin*.

1541

A

4. (1) "*La Contr'amye de Court*, Paris, Adam Saulnier, 1541, in-8."

Brunet, vol. ii, col. 1326.

(2) *La Contr'amye* | *de Court:* | *par* | *Maistre Charles Fontaine* | *Parisien* | *l'autheur* | *Qui fors Sulpice entreprendra* | *De m'imprimer il mesprendra* | [Mark.] | *A Lyon, chez Sulpice Sabon* | *pour Antoine Constantin.* | *Avec privilege pour un an.* | [At the end:] *Imprimé à Lyon* | *par Sulpice Sabon* | *1543.*

8vo. 47 pp. Munich Library.

This edition is mentioned in the Catalogue Didot, 1878, no. 272, with the remark: "Dédicace de l'auteur au cardinal de Lorraine."

(3) *La contre* | *amye de la court* | Nicols [*sic*] de Burges | 1543 [Rouen].

Arsenal, B.L. 8368.

This is probably the edition of which Denys Sauvage said (*La Contr'amye de Court*, Saulnier, 1543: *Ung amy de l'autheur au lecteur*): "Ces jours passez

quant j'ay veu le livre de la Contr'amye par je ne sçay quel brouillon de Rouen aultant mal imprimé que bien faict par l'autheur . . ."

(4) *La | Contr'amye | de covrt: | Par | Charles Fontaine | Parisien. | Imprime par Adam Saulnier. | 1543.*

Small 8vo. 27 ff. numbered. Bibl. Nat., Réserve p. Ye. 479; *Cat. Rothschild*, vol. iv, p. 214.

(5) " *La Contr'amye de Court*, . . . imprimée à Lyon par Jean de Tournes, . . . l'an 1543."

La Croix du Maine, vol. i, p. 108.

B

" L'Amie de court inventée par le seigneur de La Borderie; la Contramie de court par Charles Fontaine Parisien; l'Androgyne de Platon par Antoine Heroet dict La Maison neufve, etc. . . .

" Paris, G. Corrozet, 1542. In-16, lettres rondes.

" Édition fort rare et la plus complète."

Bulletin du Bibliophile, 1861, p. 125.

C

In 1544 appeared for the first time the following collection, which contains the *Contr'amye de Court* and other poems of the " querelle des amies ": *Le mes- | pris de la court, | avec la vie rustic- | que. Nouvellement traduict De- | spagnol en Francoys. | Lamye de court | La parfaicte amye | La contreamye | Landrozyne de Platon | Lexperience de lamye de court, | contre la contreamye. | On les vend a la grant salle du Palais, | en la bouticque de Galiot du pre, | 1544.*

12mo. 183 ff. unnumbered. Bibl. Nat., Réserve P.R. 348.

Reverse of title, dedication by Antoine Alaigre to Guillaume du Prat, Bishop of Clermont. Pp. 120–146, *La Contreamye de Court.*

Le Mespris de la court is Antoine Alaigre's translation of the *Menosprecio de la Corte y Alabanza de la Aldea*, by Antonio de Guevara. It has no connection with the " querelle des amies."

This collection was reprinted at least thirteen times, as follows: Paris, Guillaume le Bret, 1544 (Brunet); Paris, Guillaume Thiboust, 1544 (La Croix du Maine, vol. i, p. 36; *Cat. Viollet-le-Duc*, 1843, p. 25); Paris, Jehan Ruelle, 1545 (Mazarine, Réserve 36582); Paris, Arnoul l'Angelier, 1546 (Lib. of M. Abel Lefranc); Paris, Guillaume le Bret, 1549 (Musée Condé, Chantilly, *Catalogue*, vol. iii, no. 871); Paris, Th. Ruelle, 1550 (Brunet); Paris, Jehan

Ruelle, 1550 (Arsenal, S. A. 3245); Paris, Jehan Ruelle, 1551 (Royal Lib. at Munich, Ph.Pr. 607); Paris, Th. Ruelle, 1556 (Brunet); Paris, Annet Briere, 1556 (Arsenal, S. A. 3246 [1]); Paris, Jehan Ruelle, 1568 (*Cat. Rothschild*, vol. i, p. 546); Paris, Jehan Ruelle le jeune, 1568 (Bibl. Nat., Inv. Z. 32348); Paris, Robert le Mangnier, 1568 (Arsenal, S. A. 3247).

D

The *Contr'amye de Court* was also published in the following collection: *Opuscules* | *d'amour, par He-* | *roet, la Borderie,* | *et autres divins* | *Poëtes.* | *A Lyon,* | *Par Iean de Tournes.* | *M.D.XLVII* [1547].

8vo. 336 pp. numbered (and not 346 pp., as is generally given: in the paging there is a jump from 288 to 299, and this error continuing to the end, the last page should be numbered 336 instead of 346). Bibl. Nat., Réserve Ye. 1611; Arsenal B.L. 9249.

The *Contr'amye de Court* occupies pp. 148–200. It is preceded by the following pieces: *L'autheur au lecteur; Autre; M. D. Sauvage au lecteur de la Contr'amye; Response par l'autheur;* epistle by Fontaine to the Cardinal of Lorraine. P. 236, *L'Amy de la Contr'amye de court à l'honneste Amant* [by Guillaume des Autelz].

Besides the *Contr'amye de Court*, the *Opuscules d'amour* contains the following poems: the *Parfaicte Amye* (pp. 3–69), *Epistre au Roy Françoys, premier de ce nom* (pp. 69–75), *L'Androgyne de Platon* (pp. 75–85), *Autre invention extraicte de Platon: De n'aymer point sans estre aymé* (pp. 85–89), *Complainte d'une dame surprinse nouvellement d'amour* (pp. 89–101), all by Antoine Héroët; *Epistre amoureuse* (pp. 102–110), by I[acques] C[olin]; *L'Amye de Court* (111–147), by Bertrand de La Borderie; *L'Experience de M. Paul Angier . . .* (pp. 201–236); *Le Nouvel Amour* (237–268), by Almaque Papillon. The volume ends with La Borderie's *Discours du voyage de Constantinople.*

Virtually all the bibliography of the *Contr'amye de Court* is given by M. Gohin, *Œuvres poëtiques d'Antoine Héroët*, p. xxvii, note 1, and pp. xlv ff.

1545

5. *La Fontai-* | *ne d'A-* | *mour,* | *contenant Elegies, Epistres, &* | *Epigrammes.* | *A Lyon,* | *Par* | *Jean de Tournes,* | *1545.*

8vo. British Museum, 1073.

The first edition. On account of the European War, I have been unable to examine it.

The following is the best known edition of this important work:

LA || FONTAINE || D'AMOVR, con- || *tenant Elegies, Epi-* || *stres, & Epi-* || *grammes.* || *À PARIS.* || 1546. || De l'Imprimerie de Ieanne de Marnef, demou- || rant en la rue Neuue nostre Dame à l'enseigne || saint Iean Baptiste.

16mo. 120 ff. unnumbered. Signatures A-P eights. Bibl. Nat., Réserve Ye. 1609.

The title is surrounded by an elaborate cartouche, with the device *Nul ne s'y frote.* Reverse of title, huitain, *L'autheur aux dames;* quatrain, *Aux mesdisants.* F. Aij r°, dedication to the Duke of Orléans, signed *Charles Fontaine.* F. Avj r°, *Elegies*, twenty-two in number. F. Evij v°, *Epistres*, nineteen in number. F. Hij v°, *Epigrammes*, only two of which are addressed to contemporaries of consequence: Pierre Saliat and Antoine du Moulin. F. Kviij v°, *Fin de la Fontaine d'amour.*

F. L r°, *Ensuyvent deux livres d'Epigrammes du mesme autheur.* F. L v°, dedicatory poem to *Monsieur du Peyrat, lieutenant general pour le Roy en la seneschaucé de Lyon, Charles Fontaine, salut.* F. Lij r°, *Le premier livre.* The epigrams of the first book are inscribed to the following persons: M. Tiraqueau, conseillier en Parlement à Paris; M. du Puys, lieutenant particulier en la seneschaucé de Lyon; le Roy; la royne de Navarre; Mme la princesse de Navarre; M. Cristofle Boulaud, avocat en Parlement à Paris; Maistre Françoys Verius, chanoine de Mascon; *De la mort et de Marot;* M. Vincent Hugand, esleu de Mascon; le chevalier Rochefort; Maistre Jacques Bryau; *Epitaphe de feu M. Budé, en son vivant maistre des requestes du Roy;* le viconte de Usez; Maistre Annemond Polier, procureur de Lyon, lorsqu'il fut marié; Marguerite Senneton, Lyonnoise; Claude Brielle, Lyonnoise; Marie Brielle, Lyonnoise; l'amye de Maistre Antoine du Moulin, Masconnois; M. de Saleignac, docteur de Mgr le cardinal de Lorraine; le prieur de Daumont; Catherine Fontaine; Clément Marot; M. de Canaples, capitaine, et Canape, medecin; M. du Peyrat, lieutenant de Lyon, presenté sur les rempars de Saint Just; Ymbert Faure; M. Nicole Mellier, lieutenant de M. le juge ordinaire de Lyon; Maistre Jean Gravier; Philibert Trougnart; M. Maurice Sceve; Bartolomy Royet et sa femme; Maistre Nicole le Jouvre; M. Danesius; Maurice Sceve et Bartolomy Aneau; M. Jacques de Cambray, chancelier de Bourges, estant à Ferrare; Maistre Jean Bureau; Jean Chalant; Maistre Guillaume de Troëmont; M. Morelet; le Dauphin; M. Sceve, conseillier de Chambéry; M. le capitaine Sala; Anne Durande; le capitaine George Regnard, Lyonnois; *Epitaphe de Jean Thezé, Lyonnois, fait en vers alexandrins;* M. de Boysonné, conseillier de Chambéry; M. le conseillier de l'Estoile; M. Brinon, filz unique de feu M. le president de Rouen; M. Tignac, juge ordinaire civil et criminel en la ville de Lyon; M. du Lyon, conseillier en Parlement à Paris; M. Quelin, aussi conseillier au Parlement de Paris; M. le conseillier Torveon et Dame Magdeleine du Peyrat, pour le jour precedent leurs nopces, quand il pleuvoit.

F. Nvij r°, *Le second livre des Epigrammes*, addressed to the following persons: M. Morelet de Museau, conseillier du Roy, et ambassadeur pour ledit seigneur en Suisse, seigneur de la Marcheferriere et du Bourgeau; M. Philipes de Pise, esleu pour le Roy à Mascon; le cardinal de Lorraine; Antoine de Pise; le cardinal de Tournon, retournant sain par Lyon par où il avoit passé estant fort malade; Maistre Denis Sauvage et M. de Besze, entre les mains et jugement desquelz l'autheur remet son livre; Flora, femme de l'autheur; Maistre Marin Aublé, precepteur des enfants de M. le connestable;

Maistre Jean des Gouttes; Maistre Vincent de la Loupe, avocat en Parlement à Paris; Jacques Senneton, Lyonnois; Pierre Moyreau de Dourdan, compaignon imprimeur, lorsqu'il composoit en l'imprimerie le present livre; Alexis Jure de Quiers et Claude le Maistre, Lyonnois; Maistre Annemond Polier, procureur de Lyon; Maistre Odoart le Verrier, clerc au greffe du Roy à Lyon; Maistre Antoine Noailly, procureur à Lyon; le chanoine Gauteret, Lyonnois; Maistre Françoys l'Archer, clerc des comptes; M. de Chemant, president de Piedmont, l'autheur allant à Venise; M. de Loudon, son gendre; M. Danebault, lieutenant pour le Roy en Piedmont; Maistre Françoys Morel, greffier en la court ordinaire de Lyon; le chanoine Caillé; le Roy, à qui l'autheur avoit fait presenter un livre; la royne de Navarre; Maistre Guillaume Durand, Lyonnois; Hugues Salel, valet de chambre du Roy et poëte françoys; Maistre Guillaume Telin, secretaire de M. le duc de Guise; Maistre Antoine Virieu, enquesteur en la seneschaucé de Lyon; MM. Canape, Vacé, et Tolet, trois medecins de Lyon; l'escuyer Catherin Jean, maistre de la poste du Roy à Lyon; Pierre Reclus, apothicaire; M. Corqueron, maistre de la chapelle du Roy; Maistre Denys Sauvage, avocat et poëte françoys; Maistre Pierre Saliat; *De la mort de M. Braillon, medecin de Paris tres renommé;* le cardinal de Ferrare, archevesque de Lyon; M. Granger, docteur en medecine à Paris; M. de la Fay, Lyonnois; Maistre Noë Alibert, Lyonnois; les compaignons imprimeurs de la ville de Paris.

F. Pviij v°, *Fin du II livre des epigrammes;* mark of Denis Janot, with the mottoes *Patere, aut abstine* and *Nul ne s'y frote*, and the name of Janot's widow, *Jeanne de Marnef.*

Two other editions of the *Fontaine d'amour* were published at Lyons in 1572 and 1588 by Benoist Rigaud under the title of *Le Jardin d'amour, avec la Fontaine d'amour, contenant Elegies, tant inventees que traduictes. Epigrammes, et autres choses fort plaisantes et recreatives* (Baudrier, *Bibl. lyon.*, 3° série, pp. 281 and 406).

1546

6. ESTREINES, || A CERTAINS SEI- || GNEVRS, ET DA- || MES DE LYON. || *Par* || *Maistre Charles Fontaine* || *Parisien.* || A quoy est adiousté vn Chant Nuptial de Lau || theur, faict & presenté pour les Nopces de || Monsieur le Conseiller Torueon, & mada- || me Magdeleine du Peyrat. Ensemble || vne Eclogue Pastorale, sur les Nopces de || Lautheur, à luy addressee, & faicte par vn || sien amy, Poëte, & Aduocat de Paris. || A LYON, || Par Iean de Tournes. ||1546.

Small 8vo. 32 pp. numbered. Arsenal, B.L. 9074.

Reverse of title, quatrain, *L'autheur à ses quatrains.*

P. 3, *Estreines, à certains seigneurs, et dames de Lyon*, all quatrains, addressed to the following persons: Mgr du Peyrat, lieutenant general pour le Roy à Lyon; Mme la lieutenande; le conseiller Tourveon; Magdeleine du

Peyrat, sa femme; le juge Tignac; M. du Puys, lieutenant particulier en la seneschaulcé de Lyon; MM. les eschevins de Lyon; le conseiller de Villars; le thresorier des Ligues; M. de la Fay; Mme de la Fay; Maistre Annemond Polier; le chevalier Rochefort; Sire Jean de Rochefort; Marguerite Senneton, sa femme; Sire Jacques Senneton et ses freres; Dame Clemence de Rochefort; Dame Daniele; Claude Bryelle; Marie Bryelle, sa sœur; Dame Meraulde de la Porte; Marguerite de la Porte; M. Guillot, advocat de l'auteur; Sire Pierre Sceve; Françoys Santian, filz de Mme de Villette; Maistre Antoine Noalli, procureur; Pierre Rati, paintre; M. Beneri; le capitaine Sala; Mme Anne Durande, sa femme, estant en couche; le chanoine Caillé; le chanoine Charton; M. Canappe, medecin; le chanoine Gauteret; Maistre Guillaume Durand; Gaspar Fontaine, petit filz de l'autheur; Maistre Jean Chaillart, notaire royal; M. Athiaud, advocat de Lyon; M. Mellier, lieutenant de M. le juge ordinaire de Lyon; l'advocat Mellier, son frere; Pierre Burgaud; M. Maurice Sceve; Mme du Peron; Mme de la Pardieu, sa fille; Mme Fleurie Mayaude; l'esleu Leuin; Loys Thesé; Maistre Matthieu Michel; Maistre Sebastien Gryphius; Jean de Tournes, maistre imprimeur; Maistre Claude Morel, greffier de la court ordinaire de Lyon; Sire Hugues de la Porte; le receveur Jean des Gouttes; Maistre Jacques Page; l'escuyer Caterin Jean; Maistre Edoart Verrier; Philippes Thomas, cousin de l'autheur; l'advocat Guybert; Sire Humbert Faure; l'advocat Thomas; Maistre Jean Vidilli; Maistre Barthelemy Aneau; Maistre Jean Gravier; Maistre Antoine du Moulin; Jean de la Landre; Maistre Noë Alibert; Charles de la Porte; Maistre Jacob Southan, chyrurgien; Anne de Rochefort; Maistre Antoine Pinel, clerc du greffe de la seneschaulcé du Roy, à Lyon; M. de Lyuron; Sire Martin le Maire, orfevre de Lyon; Jean Vasis.

P. 21, *Chant nuptial, sur le mariage de Monsieur le Conseiller Tourueon et Madame Magdaleine du Peyrat: Faict et presenté par* [sic] *leurs nopces.* P. 25, *Eclogue pastoralle, sur le mariage de maistre Charles Fontaine Parisien, et Marguerite Carme Lyonnoise: composée par M. D*[*enys*] *S*[*auvage*], *poëte et advocat a Paris.* P. 32, *Pour conclusion, l'autheur a soymesme,* quatrain.

7. EPITOME || DES TROIS PREMIERS || LIVRES DE ARTEMI- || dorus ancien autheur, trai- || ctant des Son- || ges. || *Nouuellement traduictz en Françoys,* || *par Maistre Charles* || *Fontaine.* || [Mark.] || A LYON, || Par Iean de Tournes. || 1546.

Small 8vo. 144 pp. numbered. Arsenal, Sc. et A. 9409; Sainte-Geneviève Z 94, Réserve.

Reverse of title, huitain, *A la ville de Lyon.* P. 3, dedication, *Le traducteur a quelque personnage dauthorite.* P. 19, *Preface de lautheur.* P. 22, *Epitome du premier livre.* P. 65, *Le translateur a Monsieur Maistre Françoys Verius, chanoine de Mascon.* P. 72, *Preface de lautheur sur le second livre.* P. 73, *Epitome du second livre.* P. 120, *Le translateur a son cousin Maistre Iean Bureau.* P. 125, *Epitome du troysiesme livre.* P. 144, *Fin de l'Epitome des trois premiers livres de Artemidorus, traictant des songes.*

Reprinted at Paris, by Jeanne de Marnef, 1547, 16mo.

1552

8. *Les* || EPISTRES || D'OVIDE NOV- || *uellement mises en vers* || *Françoys* || Par M. Charles Fontaine Parisien: || Auec les Prefaces & Annota- || tions: le tout non par-cy || deuant imprimé. || *Plus y a la response à icelles epistres.* || [Mark.] || À LYON, || Par Iean Temporal. || 1552. || *Auec Priuilege.* || [At the end:] ACHEVÉ D'IMPRI- || *mer le quatorzieme d'Apuril,* || *mil cinq cens cinquante deux,* || *auant Pasques.* || *À LYON,* || Par Philibert Rollet.

16mo. 238 pp. numbered, and 1 f. unnumbered. Woodcuts. Arsenal, B.L. 2955; Bibl. de la ville de Lyon, 803786.

Edition divided between Jean Temporal and Eustache Barricat.

Reverse of title, *Privilège* granted to Charles Fontaine for six years, *faict à Paris le quatorzieme Iuillet, mil cinq cens quarante huict.* P. 3, dedication, *A noble et puissant seigneur Antoine de Crussol, seigneur dudict lieu, seneschal de Cahors en Querci, et l'un des cent gentilzhommes de la chambre du Roy, Charles Fontaine, humble salut,* dated Lyons, January 1, 1551. P. 8, *Petit advertissement aux lecteurs.* Pp. 15–223, Fontaine's translation of the first ten *Heroides,* with prefaces and notes by Fontaine. P. 224, *Le traducteur aux lecteurs.* P. 237, *Aux lecteurs.* P. 238, *Table des dix epistres precedentes.* Last folio r°, *Achevé d'imprimer.*

In the same volume: LA RESPON- || SE AVX DIX EPI- || STRES PRECE- || DENTES. || *PAR MICHEL* || *D'AMBOISE.* 142 pp. numbered.

1553

9. *La premiere* || PARTIE DV PROMPTVAI- || RE DES MEDALLES DES PLVS || renommees personnes qui ont esté depuis le || commencement du monde: auec brieue || description de leurs vies & faicts, || recueillie des bons || auteurs. || [Mark.] || A LYON CHEZ GVILLAV- || ME ROVILLE. || 1553. || *Auec Priuilege du Roy, pour dix ans.*

4to, in two parts. First part, 4 ff. unnumbered, 172 pp. numbered, 2 ff. unnumbered. Second part, 247 pp. numbered, 4 ff. unnumbered. Sainte-Geneviève, ZZ 517; British Museum, 7755 C.

First part: reverse of title, *Extrait du privilege* granted to Guillaume Roville for ten years. F. a 2, dedication to Marguerite of France. F. a 3, *Guillaume Rouille au lecteur.* P. 2, *Les noms des autheurs et livres que nous avons alleguez en ce Promptuaire des Medales.* P. 3, *Admonition au lecteur,* followed by *Errata.* P. 5, beginning of the first part of the *Promptuaire,* with so-called portraits of Adam and Eve. P. 172, *Fin de la premiere partie.* F. m 7, *Table.*

Second part: reverse of title, *La nativité de nostre Sauveur Iesus Christ.* P. 3, beginning of the second part of the *Promptuaire.* P. 247 v°, *Au tres*

chrestien Henri second du nom, Charles Fontaine, medallion of Henry II, with a quatrain by Fontaine.

The *Promptuaire des Medalles* is a French translation by Charles Fontaine of the following work by Guillaume Roville: *Promptuarium iconum insigniorum a seculo hominum, subiectis eorum vitis, per compendium, ex probatissimis autoribus desumptis, Lugduni, apud Gulielmum Rovillium, 1553.* Concerning Fontaine as the translator of the *Promptuarium*, see pp. 139 ff., above.

The *Promptuaire* is composed of some 800 woodcuts *en médaillons*, with paragraphs of from ten to fifteen lines relating to the persons represented. According to La Croix du Maine (vol. i, p. 265), the medallions were executed by "Georges Reverdy, excellent graveur au burin . . . Il florissoit à Lyon l'an 1555." M. Baudrier thinks that Reverdy received the assistance of other artists. Concerning the worth and the authenticity of the medallions, see Breghot du Lut, *Nouveaux mélanges biographiques et littéraires*, Lyons, 1829–31, p. 176; Brunet, *Manuel*, vol. iv, col. 900.

Latin editions of the *Promptuarium* (text by Roville) appeared in 1553, 1578, and 1581; Italian editions (text by Roville) in 1553, 1577, and 1581; French editions (Fontaine's translation) in 1553, 1576, 1577, 1581; a Spanish edition (translation of Juan Martin Cordero) in 1561.

A work of the sixteenth century, *Dialogos de Medallas, inscriciones y otras antiguedades, ex bibliotheca Ant. Augustin Archiepiscopi Tarraconen. En Tarragona por Felipe Mey*, 1587, speaks of the *Promptuarium* as follows (p. 486): "Y assi mismo tambien imprimio Rovillio otro libro con titulo de *Promptuario de medallas*, donde estan rostros fingidos de todas las personas señaladas con algunos verdaderos desde Adan hasta nuestro tiempo, sin roversos."

1554

10. Les nouuelles, & || Antiques merueilles. || PLVS, || *Vn traicté des douze Cesars, Premiers* || *Empereurs de Romme, nouuellement* || *traduit d'Italien en Francois.* || *En fin y a vne Ode pour Dieu gard à* || *la ville de Paris, faite en Iuin 1554.* || AVEC PRIVILEGE, || A PARIS, || *Chez Guillaume le Noir, rue sainct Iac-* || *ques à la Rose blanche couronnée.* || 1554.

16mo. 96 ff. unnumbered. Signatures A–M eights. Bibl. Nat., Réserve p.G. 2900.

Reverse of title blank. Aij r°, dedication, *A Monsieur d'Ivor, secretaire du Roy, Charles Fontaine, S.* Av r°, *Sommaire du livre des nouvelles Isles.* Di r°, *Les Antiques Merveilles, autrement les fleurs du livre de Asse . . .* Fviij r°, *Petit traité des douze premiers Empereurs de Romme, à scavoir depuis Iules Cesar jusques à Domitian, nouvellement traduit d'Italien en Françoys.* Kiv v° blank.

Kv r°, *Ode pour Dieu gard à la ville de Paris. Par Charles Fontaine Parisien, 1554 en Juin.* The *Ode* is composed of 102 quatrains, the first ten of which are

devoted to the praise of Paris, its monuments, its institutions, etc.; for example, Notre-Dame, the Seine, the Collège du Plessis, the Pont-au-Change, the Montagne Sainte-Geneviève. The remaining quatrains are addressed as follows: à la souveraine court de Parlement en general; à M. Olivier, chancelier de France; à M. Magistri, premier president; à M. de Sainct André, second president; à M. Minart, tiers president; à M. Maigret, quart president; à M. de Thou, aussi president; à Mgrs les evesques d'Ade, de Lombes, de Nevers, de Nantes, et de Sees; à M. de l'Hospital, maistre des requestes de l'hostel du Roy, et chef du conseil de Mme Marguerite de France; à M. Tiraqueau, conseiller en Parlement, et à Madamoiselle sa femme; à MM. les conseillers du Lyon, Verius, de Chantecler, de Viole, seigneur d'Aigremont, E. de la Porte, de Villaines, d'Epesse, Senneton; à M. de Thori, prevost de Paris receu, et qui a la survivance après M. de Nantoillet, son père; à M. d'Yvort, secretaire du Roy, et a Madamoiselle sa femme; à M. le chancelier de Bourges, ambassadeur pour le Roy en Transylvanie, qui a nom Jacques de Cambray; à M. le conseiller Robert de la Haye; à Marie Buzelin; à Madamoiselle de la Haye, sœur dudict de la Haye; à M. de Saleignac, docteur en theologie; à M. de Sangelays; à M. Amyot, qui a traduit Diodore et Heliodore, et encor les Vies de Plutarque; à M. Morel, seigneur de Greigny, mareschal des logis ordinaire de la Royne; à M. François l'Archer, procureur en la chambre des comptes; à M. Joubert, lieutenant criminel de la ville de Bourges; à M. le Coigneux advocat en Parlement, allié de l'auteur; à M. de Chapes, advocat en Parlement; à M. Touchet, lieutenant particulier à Orleans, et à Marie Crabe, sa femme, et à son petit fils; à M. Vincent Lupanus, lieutenant criminel de la ville de Chartres; à M. Sceve, advocat en Parlement; à M. de Quincy, aussi advocat en Parlement; à M. Sibillet, advocat en Parlement, qui a fait l'Art poëtic françois, et traduit l'Iphigene, tragedie d'Euripide; à M. G. Aubert, advocat en Parlement; à M. I. Desavenelles, advocat en Parlement; à M. Moysson, greffier en Parlement; à M. Content, procureur en Parlement, qui fut maistre es arts au College du Plessis avec l'auteur; à M. du Luc, aussi procureur en Parlement; à M. Boulaud; à M. Sylvius, medecin; à M. Oronce, lecteur du Roy en l'Université de Paris, es mathematiques; à M. Fernel, medecin; à M. Granger, aussi medecin; à M. Ruel, medecin à Orleans; à M. Coroneus, lecteur du Roy en l'Université de Paris; à M. Chesneau, principal du College de Tours, et lecteur public es lettres ebraïques à Paris; à M. Saliat, qui a traduit Herodote de grec en françois; à M. l'advocat du Roy à Estampes, qui est allié de l'auteur; à M. Nicolai, geographe du Roy; à M. de Belle-Isle; à M. de Querinec, gentilhomme de Bretaigne; à M. Dorat, homme docte et tresrenommé en savoir; à M. de Ronsard, poëte qui nous a resuscité le Pyndare, poëte lyrique grec; à M. Jodelle, seigneur de Limodé, poëte latin et françois; à M. de Mangni, poëte; à M. de Baïf, poëte; à Henri Estienne; à M. le protonotaire P. de la Saulx, de la maison de Mgr le cardinal de Chastillon; à M. Angelus, homme savant, et qui a fait de grans voyages avec les ambassadeurs de France; à M. Capel, poëte; à M. de Mesme, fort docte, et poëte latin et françois; à Antoine Dugué et Maturin de Villette, cousins de l'auteur; à Lyon Jamet, seigneur de Chambrum, secretaire de Mme Renée de

France, duchesse de Ferrare; au seigneur Gruget, Parisien; au seigneur Gohorri, Parisien; au seigneur Belon; à M. G. Galterus, homme vertueux et savant, et ancien bon ami de l'auteur; à M. Tufan; à M. Pasquier, advocat en Parlement; au seigneur Vascosan, imprimeur et libraire; au comte d'Alsinois [Nicolas Denisot]; à M. le Riche; à M. le contreroleur Ant. de Surie; à M. I. de Bieure, gentilhomme champanois; à M. Poirot, huyssier de salle de la Royne; à M. I. Ferrand; au seigneur Rolat, Lyonnois; au seigneur Tagault, fils du medecin; à M. Françoys du Cleray.

Lvij r°, six odes, five of which are addressed to the following persons: Flora, Fontaine's wife; Bonaventure du Tronchet; François l'Archer. Mij v°, *Ode a Charles Fontaine, par B. du Tronchet, Masconnois.* Mv r°, *Pour intelligence a quelz personnages s'addressent les quatrains de l'Ode pour Dieu gard a la ville de Paris.* Mviij v°, *Le privilege*, granted for three years to *Guillaume le Noir, libraire et relieur iuré de l'université de Paris*, dated *le xxviij iour de Iuillet 1554.*

11. LES || FIGVRES || DV || NOVVEAU || TESTAMENT. || [Mark.] || A LYON, || PAR IAN DE TOVRNES. || M.D.LIIII.

8vo. 52 ff. unnumbered. Signatures A–F eights, G four. Musée Condé, Chantilly, XII B².

Reverse of title blank. A 2 r°, *L'imprimeur aux lecteurs.* A 3 r°, sixain, *A tresillustre et treshaute Princesse, Madame Marguerite de France, Duchesse de Berri, Charles Fontaine, S.* A 3 v°–A 5 r°, four woodcuts representing Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, in the act of writing, accompanied by sixains by Fontaine. A 5 v°–D 8 r°, fifty-four woodcuts depicting incidents from the canonical Gospels, such as the Annunciation, the Nativity, Christ in the Temple, the Sermon on the Mount, Lazarus and Dives, Christ before Pilate, the Crucifixion, etc., all explained by Fontaine's sixains. D 8 v°–E 5 v°, eleven woodcuts depicting incidents from the Acts of the Apostles, with sixains by Fontaine. E 5 v°, *Fin.* E 6 r°–G 2 v°, twenty-six woodcuts based on the Apocalypse, without Fontaine's sixains. G 3 r°–G 4 r°, *Avertissement aux lecteurs*, by Fontaine.

The chief interest of the *Figures du Nouveau Testament* lies in the ninety-five woodcuts by Bernard Salomon, called *le Petit Bernard*, or by his pupils.

Reprinted at least four times: 1556, 1558, 1559, 1579. The catalogue of the British Museum mentions an edition dated thus: 1580? Du Verdier (vol. i, p. 300) mentions an edition by Hierosme de Marnef, 16mo.

Many similar works, dealing with both the Old and the New Testaments, were published at Lyons by Jean de Tournes, Guillaume Roville, Jean Frellon, and others.

1555

12. *SENSVYVENT* || LES RVIS- || SEAVX DE FON- || TAINE: || Oeuure contenant Epitres, Elegies, Chants || diuers, Epigrammes, Odes, & Estrenes || pour cette presente année 1555. || Par Charles Fontaine, || Parisien. || *Plus y a vn traité du passetemps des amis,*

auec || *vn translat d'vn liure d'Ovide, & de 28.* || *Enigmes de Symposius, traduits par* || *ledict Fontaine.* || [Mark.] || *A LYON,* || PAR THIBAVLD PAYAN. || 1555. || Auec priuilege du Roy.

8vo. 399 pp. numbered. Bibl. Nat., Réserve Ye. 1610; Arsenal, Réserve B.L. 6507; Mazarine, Réserve 21643; Bibl. de la ville de Lyon, 318105.

Reverse of title, privilege granted to Charles Fontaine for four years, dated Paris, January 16, 1552. P. 3, two quatrains, a sixain, and a distich, *A la louenge de Poësie.* P. 4, huitain, *A Jean Brinon, Seigneur de Villaynes, Conseiller du Roy en sa Court de Parlement à Paris,* signed *Hante le Françoys.*

P. 5, *Epitres,* as follows: *Epitre au Roy* [François Ier], *à qui l'auteur adressoit une sienne traduction; Epitre, philosophant sur la bonne amour: à une dame; E. H. à C. Fontaine; Response par Charles Fontaine; C. Fontaine à N. le Jouvre; A une dame pour la consoler sur la mort de son mary; A Madame Renée de France, Duchesse de Ferrare.*

P. 48, *Elegies,* as follows: *Elegie sur le trespas de Catherine Fontaine, sœur de l'auteur; Elegie seur le trespas de René, cinquiesme enfant, et tiers filz de l'auteur.*

P. 55, *Chants divers,* as follows: *Chant sur la naissance de Jan, second filz de l'auteur; Chant nuptial allegorique; Le Dieu gard à la ville de Lyon, faict l'an 1540; L'adieu à ladite ville, où l'auteur avoit prins femme, et pour un sien proces s'en alloit à Paris l'an 1547; Le Dieu gard à la ville de Paris; Petit chant de louange à tresillustre et tresvertueuse Princesse, Madame Marguerite de France, Duchesse de Berri, fille et sœur de Roy.*

P. 67, *S'ensuit un livre d'Epigrammes, adressé par l'auteur à M. le Conseiller Jan Brinon.* The epigrams are addressed to the following persons: Flora, femme de l'auteur; Michel du Rochay; M. Brinon; I. Gentil et son fils, menestriers de Paris, et musiciens du Roy; M. le baron de l'Espinasse; J. de Cambray, chancelier de Bourges, estant à Constantinople, et tenant le lieu de M. Aramon; Clément Marot, quand l'auteur alloit disner avec luy; M. du Parcq [Denys Sauvage]; Mme la princesse de Ferrare; Françoyse Fontaine, petite fille de l'auteur; M. Saliat; Damoiselle Catherine Morelet, fille de M. de la Marcheferriere; l'escuyer Catherin Ian; Mme la duchesse de Vendosme; François Ier; Annemond Polier; S. Vallambert, poëte latin et françois; le president de Gouy; M. de Chantecler, conseiller au Parlement de Paris; M. P. Coritain; Lyon Jamet, seigneur de Chambrum, secretaire de Mme Renée de France, duchesse de Ferrare; Jan Girard, de Bourges, et Marguerite, son espouse, Lyonnoise; Jan Vasis, dict Jan de Paris; M. de la Saulx, secretaire du cardinal de Chastillon; Pierre Sceve; Eustache de la Porte; M. Tignac, lieutenant general et president à Lyon; M. Brinon, fils unique du premier president de Rouen; *De la mort de M. de Langey;* M. de Cremieu, Lyonnois; Henri II; M. de Saint Antost, premier president de Rouen.

P. 126, quatrain, *L'auteur au Seigneur Jean Brinon.*

P. 127, *Le livre des Odes,* eighteen in number, eleven of which are addressed to the following persons: Jean Brinon; Flora; le cardinal de Chastillon; MM. de Querinec et de Coadiunal, gentilshommes de Bretaigne; Françoys l'Archer; P. de la Saulx, secretaire du cardinal de Chastillon.

P. 163, *S'ensuit un livre d'Epigrammes pour estreines de ceste année 1555*, inscribed to the following persons: Henri II; la Royne; Mme Marguerite de France; la duchesse de Vendosme; la princesse de Ferrare et duchesse de Guise; M. de l'Estoille, president au Parlement de Paris; M. Tiraqueau, conseiller audict Parlement; Eustache de la Porte, aussi conseiller audict Parlement; M. du Lyon, aussi pareillement conseiller; M. Seneton, conseiller au Parlement de Paris; M. d'Epesse, conseiller du Roy au Parlement de Paris; M. de Viole, seigneur d'Aigremont, aussi conseiller audict Parlement; M. Jean Brinon, conseiller audict Parlement; M. Vaillant, aussi conseiller audict Parlement; M. de Marmaigne, maistre des requestes; M. d'Yvor, secretaire du Roy; M. le seneschal de Lyon, Guillaume Gazaigne; M. de Tignac, lieutenant general, et president à Lyon; M. du Puy, lieutenant particulier en ladicte ville; M. de Vauzelle, advocat du Roy à Lyon; M. Billoud, procureur du Roy en ladicte ville; M. Bryaud, conseiller au siege presidial de Lyon; M. de Villas, juge ordinaire de ladicte ville; M. l'advocat Athiaud; M. l'advocat Laurens; M. l'advocat Thomas; M. Lymandas, conseiller au siege presidial de Lyon; les deux Melliers, advocatz; M. Girinet, advocat; M. le seneschal Guillaume Gazaigne et M. de Beauregard, son frere; le seigneur de Rivirie, le baron Laurencin; le tresorier Martin de Troye; le tresorier Artus Prunier, et receveur du Dauphiné; Jean Prunier, receveur de Forest; le capitaine Cervieres, capitaine des enfans de Lyon; le capitaine George Regnart; Nicolas Henry, seigneur de Cremieu, Lyonnois; le secretaire Jean Gravier; le chanoine Charton, Lyonnois; P. Sceve; Maistre Mathieu Michel; Maistre Antoine Virieu, enquesteur en la senechaucé de Lyon; le grefier Vidilli; Ennemond Polier; le seigneur Jean Antoine Gros; Françoys Santien, seigneur de Villette; Noé Neyret et Marie Briande, sa femme; Jean de Rochefort; les deux freres Prunas, Lyonnois; les deux freres Taillemont; le seigneur Leonard Spine; Alexis Jure de Quiers; le seigneur Sebastien Sommage; M. Clepier, advocat; Sebastien Gryphius; Guillaume Roville, libraire; Benoist Montaudouyn, bateur d'or; Thibault Payen, libraire; Jean de Tournes, imprimeur; Philibert Rollet, lors qu'il imprimoit le present livre; Guillaume Phylledier, imprimeur; Dame Clemence de Rochefort; Anne de Rochefort; Sibylle de la Porte; Madamoyselle Lallier; Madamoyselle de la Fay; Jean Fontaine, Françoise Fontaine, Charles Fontaine, Sebastien Fontaine, enfants de l'auteur; M. Auberi, lieutenant civil à Paris; M. Braillon, conseiller au siege presidial de Lyon; M. Pasquier, advocat au Parlement de Paris; M. Duarenus, docteur, regent à Bourges; M. le Coigneux [cousin de l'auteur], advocat au Parlement de Paris; Antoine du Gué [cousin de l'auteur]; M. le baron de l'Espinasse; J. de Cambray, chancelier de Bourges, ambassadeur du Roy; M. Touchet, lieutenant à Orleans; Jacques Joubert, lieutenant criminel à Bourges; François l'Archer, procureur des comptes à Paris; M. Fournier, poëte; Jean Garnier; le capitaine Pierre Bon; le contreroleur Philippe Coulom; M. de Belle-Isle; Guillaume du Louët, seigneur de Querinec; M. Sylvius, medecin à Paris; M. Fernel, aussi medecin à Paris; Geofroy Granger, medecin à Paris; Guillaume Plantius, aussi medecin à Paris; Claude Millet, medecin à Lyon; Simon Guy, maistre chirurgien à Lyon; Marie Buzelin;

Marie Crabe et son petit filz Polycarpe; P. de la Saulx; Charles Sevin, chanoine d'Agen, en Agenois; Maistre Jehan Ferrand de Clamart; M. de Sangelais; Maurice Sceve, Lyonnois; M. du Parc [Denys Sauvage], Champenois; P. de Ronsard; Joachim du Bellay, seigneur de Gonnor; E. Jodelle, Parisien; G. des Autelz; M. de Sainct Romat; E. Forcadel; J. Gohorri, Parisien; Ponthus de Thiart; Olivier de Mangni; Remi Belleau; Cl. Chappuy; P. Saliat, qui a traduit Herodote; Jean Dorat; Louis Chesneau, lecteur en hebrieu à Paris; Jacques Pelletier; M. Amyot; le seigneur de Baïf; M. de Bon Repos, M. Lateranus; M. Fumée, grand rapporteur de France; Bartolemi Aneau; G. Aubert, advocat à Paris; François Content; Gilles Bolaud; Marc Roger, mathematicien; G. Galterus; le poëte Tahureau; Jean Pierre de Mesme; Bonaventure du Tronchet; M. Angelus; Jean Otin; Calvi de la Fontaine; Claude Gruget, Parisien; N. Prevotet; Françoys du Cleré; Michel Miriti, de Rhodes, estudiant à Pavie; M. de Bievres, gentilhomme champanoys; René Chandelier; E. Charpin.

P. 217, *XXVIII. Enigmes, traduitz des vers latins de Symposius, ancien poëte*, preceded by a quatrain in honor of Jean Brinon, and followed by *Autre enigme qui n'est pas de Symposius.*

P. 227, *Le Passetemps des amis, livre contenant Epitres et Epigrammes en vers françois, qu'ils ont envoyez les uns aux autres, le tout composé par certains auteurs modernes, et nouvellement recueilli par Charles Fontaine, Parisien, auteur d'une partie*, preceded by a quatrain, *A Jean Brinon.* The epistles of the *Passetemps des amis* were written by the following poets: G. Teshault [Guillaume des Autelz]; Jean Orri, advocat en la ville du Mans; Gabriel Tamot, advocat du Mans; Jean Dugué, advocat en Parlement à Paris; F. P.; Charles Fontaine.

P. 313, *S'ensuyvent les Epigrammes du livre du Passetemps des amis escrivans les uns aux autres*, by the following authors: D[enys] S[auvage]; François l'Archer; Nicolle le Jouvre; Michel du Rochay; S. H.; Antoine Pérard; René Chandelier; J. Morel; Alexis Gaudin; V. L.; Antoine de Surie, contreroleur de Lixieux; Charles Fontaine; Hubert Philippe de Villiers; P. S.; Bonaventure du Tronchet. Also several epigrams addressed by Fontaine to: Jean Chaliart, notaire royal à Lyon; Benoist Troncy, son gendre, aussi de pareil estat; Jean Bureau [cousin de l'auteur]; M. du Val, evesque de Sees; M. Fornel, conseiller au siege presidial de Lyon; le receveur François Coulaud, Lyonnois.

P. 345, *Traduction en vers françoys du premier livre du Remede d'Amours, jadis composé en vers latins par le poëte Ovide*, preceded by: two short pieces in honor of Jean Brinon; *Le translateur aux lecteurs; Preface du translateur sur le premier livre du Remede d'Amours d'Ovide; Sommaire de la principale matiere du present livre.* P. 388, four odes, three of which are inscribed to Bonaventure du Tronchet, Flora, and Henri II. P. 391, *Eclogue marine, où sont introduitz deux nautonniers, Hugues Salel et Charles Fontaine.* P. 397, *Fin. Fautes advenues à l'impression.* Pp. 398–399, *S'ensuit la Table du present livre.*

13. EPITOME DES || *Cinq Liures d'Artemidore,* || *ancien autheur, & le plus* || *renõmé, traitant des* || *Songes.* || Traduiz en François par Charles || Fontaine. || Plus vn brief recueil de Valere Ma- || xime, touchant certeins songes. || A LION || PAR IAN DE TOVRNES. || M.D.LV. || Auec Priuilege du Roy.

8vo. 174 pp. numbered, 6 ff. unnumbered. Sainte-Geneviève, V 717.

The title is adorned with a pretty border.

Reverse of title, *Extrait du privilege* granted to Jean de Tournes for ten years, *S. Germain en Laye, le xv. de Iuillet. L'an de grace 1555.*

The first 136 pp. are occupied by the translations and liminary pieces published by Fontaine in the *Épitomé des trois livres de Artemidorus* (1546). P. 137, epistle *A Jean Gravier, secretaire de la vile de Lyon.* P. 139, *Epitome du quatrieme livre d'Artemidore.* P. 160, *Epitome du cinquieme livre d'Artemidore.* P. 164, *Petit recueil du livre de Valere Maxime, touchant les songes.* F. 17 v°, *Table du recueil de Valere Maxime.* F. 18 v°, *Table des cinq livres d'Artemidore.* F. Aj r° and v°, *Errata.*

The *Epitome des cinq livres d'Artemidore* was reprinted at least four times: Paris, Guillaume Cavellat, 1566, 16mo; Paris, veuve Jean Bonfons, without date, 16mo; Paris, Marnef, 1573 (La Croix du Maine, vol. i, p. 108); Lyons, Jean de Tournes, 1581, 16mo. Under the title of *Les Jugemens astronomiques des songes*, it was published in the same volume with *Augustinus Niphus, des Augures ou divinations*, a translation by Antoine du Moulin, as follows: 1547, 16mo, mark of Denis Janot on last folio; Rouen, Thomas Mallard, about 1580, 16mo; Rouen, Robert Mallard, 1584, 16mo; Paris, Nicolas Bonfons, 1595, 16mo; Lyons, Jacques Roussin, 1596, 12mo; Troyes, Nicolas Oudot, 1634, 12mo; Rouen, Vaultier (or Paris, J. Promé), 1664, 12mo. Cf. A. Cartier and A. Chenevière, *Antoine du Moulin . . .*, in the *Revue d'Hist. litt. de la France*, 1896, pp. 223–224. Graesse also mentions editions published at Paris in 1600 and at Lyons in 1609, but does not give the names of the publishers.

1556

14. LES XXI. EPITRES || D'OVIDE. || *Les dix premieres sont traduites par Charles* || *Fontaine Parisien: le reste est par lui reuù,* || *& augmenté de Prefaces.* || Les amours de Mars & Venus, & de Pluton vers || Proserpine. imitacion d'Homere & d'Ovide. || A LION, || PAR IAN DE TOVRNES, || ET GVIL. GAZEAV. || M.D.LVI. || Auec Priuilege du Roy.

12mo. 455 pp. numbered, 2 ff. unnumbered. Woodcuts. Bibl. Nat., Réserve p. Yc. 722.

Reverse of title, *Extrait du privilege* granted to Charles Fontaine for eight years, *Villiers en Coterets, le premier iour d'Octobre 1555.* P. 3, dedication, *A noble et honorable Dame, Madame de Crussol, Charles Fontaine, S.*, dated *Lyon,*

ce premier iour de May 1556. P. 9, epistle, *A Monsieur de Crussol, seneschal de Cahors . . .*, reproduced from the *Epistres d'Ovide* (1552). P. 12, dizain, *Au susdit Seigneur de Crussol*, signed *Hante le François.* Pp. 14–196, Fontaine's translation of the first ten *Heroides*, with prefaces and notes by Fontaine. P. 197, *Le translateur aus lecteurs.* Pp. 206–426, the last eleven *Heroides*, translated by Octovien de Saint-Gelais and the Seigneur de Saint-Romat. P. 353, *Museus, ancien poëte grec, des Amours de Leander et Hero, traduit en rime françoise par Clement Marot de Cahors en Querci, valet de chambre du Roy*, signed *La mord n'y mord.* P. 427, *La Fable des amours de Mars et de Venus, traduite d'Homere.* P. 436, *Le Ravissement de Proserpine. Imitacion d'Ovide.* P. 453, *Petit avertissement aus lecteurs, par Charles Fontaine, sur son translat des dix premieres Epitres d'Ovide.* P. 456, *Table du present livre.* P. 458, *Fautes avenues en imprimant.*

Reprinted at least three times: (1) *A Paris, Chez Hierosme de Marnef, & Guillaume Cavellat, au mont S. Hilaire à l'enseigne du Pelican, 1571* (Bibl. Nat., Réserve p.Yc. 723). The contents are the same as those of the 1556 edition, with the following exceptions: the *Extrait du privilege* is omitted; the woodcuts are different. (2) *A Lyon, Par Iean de Tournes, 1573* (Bibl. Nat., Réserve p.Yc. 1638). The contents are the same as those of the 1571 edition, with the following exceptions: *Le Combat d'Hercule et d'Achelois, pris d'Ovide par l'excellent poëte françois Ioachim du Bellay* is added; the woodcuts are those of the 1556 edition. (3) *A Paris, Chez Hierosme de Marnef, et la veufve Guillaume Cavellat, au mont S. Hilaire à l'enseigne du Pelican, 1580* (Bibl. Nat., Réserve p.Yc. 724). The contents are the same as those of the 1556 edition, with the following exceptions: *Sonnet acrostichic, sur la transmigration des bonnes lettres d'Athenes et Rome à Paris, ès personnes des Heroïdes d'Ovide* is added; the woodcuts are those of the 1571 edition.

The three editions just mentioned are vastly inferior to the original edition. The typography is very poor.

The woodcuts of the 1571 and of the 1580 editions were probably executed by Jean Cousin; cf. Ambroise Firmin-Didot, *Étude sur Jean Cousin*, Paris, 1872, pp. 168–169.

J. M. Papillon, *Traité historique et pratique de la gravure en bois*, Paris, 1766, vol. i, p. 204, mentions a 1579 edition by Hierosme de Marnef and the widow of Guillaume Cavellat.

1557

15. ODE DE || L'ANTIQVITÉ || ET EXCELLENCE || de la ville de Lyon, || composee || par || *Charles Fontaine Parisien.* || [Mark.] || À LYON, || PAR IEAN CITOYS. || M.D.LVII. || *Auec Priuilege du Roy.*

8vo. 31 pp. numbered. Bibl. Nat., Réserve Ye. 1751; Bibl. de la ville de Lyon, 318109.

Reverse of title, *Extrait du privilege* granted to Charles Fontaine for eight years, *Villiers Coterets, le premier iour d'Octobre 1555.* P. 3, huitain, *Des forteresses de Lyon*, signed *Hante le François.* P. 4, quatrain, *L'auteur à sa Muse.*

P. 5, *L'Antiquité et Excellence de la ville de Lyon.* P. 20, quatrain, *Sur le trespas de Sebastien Gryphe, imprimeur et libraire de Lyon.*

P. 21, *Epigrammes*, addressed to the following persons: le seneschal de Lyon, Guillaume Gazagne; le lieutenant civil [Jehan du Fournel]; le lieutenant criminel [Nery de Tourvéon]; le lieutenant Bryau; l'advocat du Roy [Mathieu de Vauzelles]; le procureur du Roy [Nicolas Baronnat ?]; M. du Puy; le conseiller Limandas; le juge de Villars; le lieutenant Mellier; le juge Girinet; l'advocat Athiaud; l'advocat Laurens; M. et Mme de Cheurieres; Claude Laurencin, seigneur de Rivirie; M. de Saint Irigni, son filz; les deux Groliers, l'un secretaire du Roy, et l'autre tresorier; Jean Camus, secretaire du Roy; Pierre Sceve, eschevin; le general Imbert Faure; Nicolas Perret, eschevin; Girardin Pance, eschevin de la ville de Lyon; François Delbene; M. Antoine Galand, precepteur dudit François Delbene; Jules Spine; Maître Matthieu Michel; Boissiere, ami de l'auteur; Jacques Page. Immediately following the *Epigrammes* are the following pieces addressed to Fontaine: *Response par ledit Jacques* [*Page*]; *De Fontano fonte, Martialis Chassagnoni distichon; Eiusdem alterum distichon in Zoïlum; Cl. Gallandii, in Caroli Fontani Poëtae laudem, carmen hexametrum* (with translation into French); a Latin poem by Martial Chassagnon (with translation into French).

The *Ode* was composed in 1556, as is shown by the last stanza:

> Fait en l'an des grandes chaleurs,
> Durans cinq moys sans grandes pluyes:
> Juillet rendit les raisins meurs,
> Et Aoust vendanges accomplies.

Concerning the drought of 1556, see A. Péricaud, *Notes et documents pour servir à l'histoire de Lyon*, Lyons, 1838, p. 25.

The *Ode de l'antiquité et excellence de la ville de Lyon* is the only volume by Fontaine that has been reprinted since 1664. An exact reproduction of the original edition, with preface and notes by William Poidebard, and a summary of the greater part of Fontaine's works by Léon Galle, was published at Lyons in 1889 by Mougin-Rusand, at the expense of the *Société des bibliophiles lyonnais.*

16. ODES, ENIGMES, || ET EPIGRAM- || MES, || Adressez pour etreines, au Roy, à la || Royne, à Madame Marguerite, & au- || tres Princes & Princesses de France. || *Par Charles Fontaine Parisien.* || [Mark.] || A LYON, || PAR IEAN CITOYS. || M.D.LVII. || *Auec Priuilege du Roy.*

8vo. 111 pp. numbered. Bibl. Nat., Réserve Ye. 1681 *bis*; Arsenal, B.L. 8868; Bibl. de la ville de Lyon, 318110.

Title reproduced by Baudrier, *Bibl. lyon.*, 2e série, p. 28. Reverse of title, *Extrait du privilege* granted to Charles Fontaine for eight years, *Villiers Coterets, le premier iour d'Octobre 1555.* P. 3, quatrain, *Accointance de Phebus avec l'auteur;* Latin distich, *Amici carmen in hunc Caroli Fontani libellum.* P. 4, quatrain, *Au Roy.*

Pp. 5–33, fifteen odes, addressed to the following persons: Henri II; la Royne; Mme Marguerite, duchesse de Berri, sœur du Roy; Mgr d'Anguyen; le cardinal de Lorraine; le connestable et duc de Montmoranci; le cardinal de Chastillon; Monseigneur Durfé, chevalier de l'ordre, et gouverneur de Mgr le Dauphin; M. de Crussol, comte de Tonerre; M. de Saint-Gelais; M. Danesius, precepteur des enfants du Roy; Pierre Paschal, croniqueur du Roy.

P. 34, epigram, *A tresillustres Princes et Princesses, Messeigneurs les enfans du Roy.* P. 35, *S'ensuivent trente et un enigmes. . . .* P. 42, epigram, *Au Roy.*

P. 43, *Etreines aux plus grans Princes de France*, addressed to the following persons: Henri II; le Dauphin; le duc d'Orléans; le cardinal de Bourbon; le cardinal de Vendome; le roy de Navarre; M. d'Anguyen; le prince de Condé; le prince de la Rochesurion; M. de Montpensier; M. de Nevers; le duc de Lorraine; M. de Nemours; le cardinal de Lorraine; le cardinal de Guise; les ducs de Guise et d'Aumale, frères; le cardinal de Ferrare; le prince de Ferrare; le cardinal de Chastillon; le maréchal de Saint-André; le maréchal de Sedan; le maréchal de Brissac; le maréchal Pierre Strose; les cardinaux de Tournon, de Lixieux, de Meudon, de Lenoncourt, de Givry, d'Armagnac, du Bellay, d'Anebault; M. Bertrandi; M. d'Avanson, president au conseil du Roy; M. de l'Hospital, maistre des requestes chez le Roy; le vidame de Chartres; M. de Saint-Gelais; M. Lancelot Carles, evesque de Rhiez; Mgr Durfé; le grand rapporteur Fumée; M. de Termes; le comte de Tonerre, seigneur de Crussol; les frères dudit seigneur de Crussol, ayans Saliat pour precepteur; le comte de Tande, gouverneur pour le Roy en Provence; le baron de la Garde; le capitaine Pierre Bon.

P. 57, *Etreines aux Princesses de France*, addressed to the following persons: la Royne; la royne d'Escosse; Mme Marguerite; la royne de Navarre; Mme de Montpensier; Mme Renée de France, duchesse de Ferrare; la duchesse de Touteville, et comtesse de Saint-Pol; Mme de Nevers; Mme la duchesse de Guise; Mme la duchesse de Valentinois, Diane de Poitiers; Mme de Crussol, comtesse de Reindgrave; Mme la comtesse de Tonerre; Joachim du Bellay, Pierre de Ronsard, Estienne Jodelle, Baïf, et Olivier de Maigni, poëtes; M. de Cheuriere; M. de Pollienay; M. de Tyart; M. de l'Aubépine, trésorier de l'espargne; Jacques de Cambray, conseiller et aumonier du Roy, chancelier de Bourges, et ambassadeur en Transylvanie; Guillaume des Autelz, poëte; Remi Belleau, poëte; Pierre de Ronsard, poëte du Roy; Jean Dorat, lecteur du Roy en l'Université de Paris; M. du Parq [Denys Sauvage], historiographe du Roy; Claude Laurencin, seigneur de Rivirie; M. le lieutenant Bryau; le chanoine Gauteret; l'ecuyer Caterin Jean; le receveur François Coulaud; Jean Seneton et Jean de Rochefort; M. de Vens; Jean le Jeune; Marie Bourgeoise, petite fille de cinq ans; Pierre Saliat; Jean Fournaud; J. Gohorri et Cl. Gruget, Parisiens; Alexis Gaudin, medecin à Blois; George de la Boutiere; Jean Citoys; Jacques Pelletier; M. Philander; Louis des Masures; *De la mort de Jean Prunier, receveur de Lyonnais et Forest;* le lieutenant Touchet, d'Orleans; le secretaire Gravier; René Chandelier; François l'Archer; M. de la Source, receveur de Lyonnais; MM. Fernel, Granger, Planson, medecins à

Paris; Pontus de Tyart, Maurice Sceve, et Guillaume des Autelz; M. de Jugerie, medecin de M. le cardinal de Lorraine; le protonotaire de la Saulx; Charles de la Porte; Barthelemi Teste; le tresorier Ferrier; le seigneur de Villette; Jacques Dalechamps, medecin; Jean de Sylva, medecin; M. Chassagnon; Antoine Pérard; Jean Fontaine et Jacques Fontaine, filz de l'auteur; Pierre Voeriot, lorsqu'il pourtrayoit l'auteur.

Among the *Etreines* are pieces addressed to Fontaine by Bonaventure du Tronchet, Louis des Masures, Antoine Pérard, Jean Fournaud, Martial Chassagnon, and Jean Citoys.

P. 104, *Odelette*, signed *Hante le François*. P. 105, *Exhortation à Messieurs de la Justice et du Consulat de la ville de Lion, pour le bien et honneur, augmentation et conservation d'icelle. Ode.* P. 111, *Fin.*

17. LES || DICTS DES SEPT || *SAGES*, || *Ensemble* || *Plusieurs autres sentences Latines, ex-* || *traites de diuers, bons, & anciens* || *Auteurs, auec leur exposicion* || *Francoise,* || *Par Charles Fontaine, Parisien.* || [Mark.] || *A LYON*, || PAR IEAN CITOYS. || M.D.LVII. || *Auec Priuilege du Roy.*

8vo. 79 pp. numbered. Arsenal, B.L. 20096; Mazarine, 21720; Bibl. de la ville de Lyon, 318108; Harvard Library, L 120.

Reverse of title, *Extrait du privilege* granted to Charles Fontaine for eight years, *Villiers Coterets, le premier iour d'Octobre 1555.* P. 3, dedication, *A tresnoble et tresflorissant Prince, Monseigneur le duc d'Orleans, Charles Fontaine, humble salut*, dated *Lyon, le xxv de Novembre 1556.* P. 8, huitain inscribed to the Duke of Orléans.

P. 9, *Les mots dorês ou preceptes des sept Sages:* 11 *dicta* by Thales, 12 by Solon, 12 by Chilo, 24 by Pittacus, 7 by Bias, 21 by Cleobulus. P. 22, *Les sentences de Periander . . .*, 68 in number. P. 33, *A Periander aucuns attribuent encores ces sentences*, 11 in number.

P. 35, *Autres sentences et mots dorez au nombre de 150. Recueillis de divers auteurs, avec leurs noms (au moins pour une grande partie) et de diverse matiere, selon que je les ay rencontrez et extraits par longue lecture.* The following ancients are quoted: Aristippus, Theophrastus, Antisthenes, Aristotle, Diogenes, Socrates, Crates, Zeno, Themistocles, Pericles, Lamachus, Iphicrates, M. Curius, Musonius, Cato the elder, Anacharsis, Propertius, Ovid, Solon, Scipio Africanus, Athenodorus, Juvenal, Lysander, Epicurus, Posidonius, Gordian the younger, Euripides, Theognis, Alcibiades, Diodorus, Menander, Bion, Diphilus, Archytas, Diocletian, Thales, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Hannibal, Xenocrates, Simonides, Pittacus, Bias, Titus, Tiberius, Caecilius Metellus, Horace, Cicero, and Agasicles.

P. 72, *Preceptes de la santé, prins de l'escole de medecine de Salerne, escrivant au Roy d'Angleterre; De Vergile cinq sentences.* P. 77, *Sept vers du poëte Ausone sur sept sentences des sept Sages.* P. 79, four *Enigmes*, signed *Hante le Françoys.*

18. MIMES || DE PVBLIAN, || *Ce sont certains Dicts graues & sen-* || *tencieux, mis de Latin en Francois,* || *et accordés auec plusieurs bons* || *Auteurs:* || Ensemble || *Douze Paraboles, & six Enigmes:* || *Par Charles Fontaine, Parisien.* || [Mark.] || A LYON, || PAR IEAN CITOYS, || M.D.L.VII.||*Auec Priuilege du Roy.*

8vo. 111 pp. numbered. Bibl. Nat., Réserve R. 2043; Arsenal, B.L. 1568; Bibl. de la ville de Lyon, 318107.

Reverse of title, *Extrait du privilege* granted to Charles Fontaine for eight years, *Villiers Coterets, le premier iour d'Octobre 1555.* P. 3, dedication, *A treshaut, tresillustre, et tresflorissant Prince Monseigneur le Daufin,* dated *Lyon, ce dixieme Decembre 1556.* P. 9, *Les Mimes de Publian, en Latin et Francoys, mis par ordre de l'alphabet. . . .* P. 105, *Douze paraboles, ou similitudes, en Latin et en Francoys.* P. 111, six *Enigmes.*

Concerning translations of the "sentences" of Publilius Syrus in the sixteenth century, Goujet says (*Bibl. franç.*, vol. v, p. 43): "La Croix du Maine et Du Verdier, dans leurs bibliothèques, parlent d'une d'elles: c'est celle de Charles Fontaine, Parisien, qui fut imprimée à Lyon en 1557, in-8°. Il y en avoit eu une autre plus ancienne, imprimée aussi à Lyon, chez Benoît Rigaut, en 1538, et dont on fit une nouvelle édition à Paris en 1561. Le traducteur ne s'est désigné que par ces quatre lettres initiales J. D. S. M. La Croix du Maine n'a point connu cette édition de 1538. La même année 1561 on vit encore paroître les Sentences de Publius Syrus en françois. Mais ce n'est qu'une nouvelle edition de la version de Charles Fontaine. Du Verdier, qui l'attribue à un autre, a été trompé par les lettres Ch. P., par où l'on a voulu désigner le traducteur." Since Benoît Rigaud did not enter the book trade until about 1555, he could not have published an edition of Publilius Syrus in 1538. I know nothing of a 1561 edition of Fontaine's translation of the *Mimes de Publian.*

1558

19. LES || SENTENCES || Du poëte Ausone, sur les || Dits des sept Sages. || Odes, & autres compositions, || pour inciter à la Vertu. || Le tout nouuellement traduit || & composé pour l'vtilité d'un || chacun, par M. Charles Fontaine || Parisien. || A LYON, || Par Iean Brotot. || *Auec Priuilege du Roy.* || [At the end:] A LYON, || 1558.

16mo. 79 pp. numbered. Bibl. Nat., Réserve p. Yc. 1603.

The title is surrounded by an elaborate border. Reverse of title, *Extrait du privilege* granted to Charles Fontaine for eight years, *Villiers Coteretz, le premier iour d'Octobre 1555.* P. 3, dedication, *A . . . Monseigneur le duc d'Angoulesme, tiers filz du Roy,* dated *Lyon, ce premier iour du moys de May 1558.* P. 5, *Sentences des sept Sages de Grèce, nouvellement traduites des vers*

latins d'Ausone en vers françois par M. Charles Fontaine; et ha chacun des sept Sages six sentences. P. 34, epigram in honor of the Duke of Anjou. P. 35, *Les dix commandemens de la loy de Dieu donnée à Moïse, escrite es deux tables, mis en vers françois pour instruction aux enfans, et pour les mieux retenir en memoire.* P. 37, *S'ensuit la benedicite et graces, pour les enfans;* also two prayers for evening and morning. P. 40, *S'ensuivent plusieurs Odes pour la vertu.* Of these odes, fourteen in number, eight are addressed to the following persons: Jean and Charles Fontaine, sons of the author; le general Imbert Faure; Flora, wife of the author; le seigneur du Parq [Denys Sauvage], historiographe du Roy; le secretaire Jean Gravier. P. 78, *Ad laudatissimae indolis generosissimi Francorum regis Henrici II. quatuor filios Martialis Cassagno.* P. 79, *Fin. Faultes advenues en l'impression.*

1559

20. "*La description des terres trouvées de nostre temps, avec le sommaire de plusieurs belles antiquitez, contenant une partie de l'excellence et magnificence des richesses, triumphes et largesses des anciens. Lyon, Benoist Rigaud, 1559.* [At the end:] *Imprimé par Jean Pullon dit de Trin.* In-16 de 40 ff. Ce petit livre commence par une épître de Charles Fontaine à M. d'Ivan [*read* d'Ivor]. Ce doit être un extrait de l'ouvrage *Les Nouvelles et antiques merveilles*, dont on aura déguisé le titre. La partie intitulée *Le Sommaire du livre des nouvelles isles* (d'Amérique) n'y occupe que 10 ff."

Brunet, *Manuel*, vol. ii, col. 1327.

Harrisse (*Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*, p. 15), in a consideration of Leander de Cosco's barbarous Latin translation of Columbus's letter to Raphael Sanchez or Sanxis, says: "A German translation was printed as early as 1497, whilst, according to Tross, one [*sic*] Charles Fontaine dedicated to 'M. d'Ivor, secrétaire du Roy,' a French version, which was published at Lyons by Rigaud, in 1559, 16mo, under the title of 'La Description des terres trouvées de nostre temps.'"

Brunet and Tross cannot both be right. The *Description* . . ., which Brunet says must be an extract from the *Nouvelles et antiques merveilles*, can have no connection with Columbus's letter to Sanchez, since the *Nouvelles et antiques merveilles* has no connection with the letter. Brunet's explanation is clearly the correct one. The title of the *Description* . . ., the mention of the *Sommaire du livre des nouvelles isles*, and the fact that the dedication was addressed to "M. d'Ivor, secrétaire du Roy," seem to show that the work was a reprint of a portion of the *Nouvelles et antiques merveilles*.

The British Museum contains a copy of the *Description* . . ., which, on account of the European War, I have been unable to examine.

1564

21. SALVTATION || AV ROY, CHARLES IX. || Sus son entrée en sa Noble & || Antique Ville de Lyon. || Par Charles Fontaine, Parisien. || [Mark of Rigaud.] || Iouxte l'impression faicte à Lyon, || Par Benoist Rigaud, || AVEC PERMISSION. || [At the end:] *Fin de la salutation au Roy, sus son Entrée en sa noble* || *& antique ville de Lyon, faicte le xiij. Iuin, M. d. lxiiij.* || On les vend a Paris, par Guillaume de Nyverd. || [Mark of Nyverd].

Small 8vo. 8 ff. unnumbered. Signatures A–B threes. Bibl. Nat., Ye. 55576 and Réserve Ye. 4014.

Reverse of title, a woodcut reproduced by Baudrier, *Bibl. lyon.*, 3e série, p. 466, no. 57, and a quatrain in honor of Charles IX. Fol. 2 r°, *Salutation à treschrestien et tresbening Roy de France, Charles IX. Sus son entrée*, etc. Fol. 8 v°, blank.

I have been unable to find a copy of the edition of the *Salutation* published by Benoist Rigaud, from which Guillaume de Nyverd made his Paris edition.

B. MINOR VERSE BY CHARLES FONTAINE PUBLISHED IN THE WORKS OF CONTEMPORARY AUTHORS (Cf. A, nos. 2, 3)

1538

1. NICOLAI || BORBONII VAN || DOPERANI LIN- || GONENSIS NVGA- || RVM LIBRI || OCTO. || AB AVTORE RECENS AVCTI || ET RECOGNITI. || Cum Indice. || [Mark.] || APVD SEB. GRYPHIVM || LVGDVNI, || 1538.

8vo. 504 pp. numbered, 28 ff. unnumbered. Bibl. Nat., Réserve p. Yc. 1035.

P. 14, Latin distich by Charles Fontaine.

2. GILBERTI || DVCHERII VVL || TONIS AQVAPER- || SANI EPIGRAMMATON LIBRI || DVO. || [Mark.] || APVD SEB. GRYPHIVM || LVGDVNI, || 1538.

8vo. 167 pp. numbered. Bibl. Nat., Réserve p. Yc. 1237.

P. 158, Latin quatrain by Charles Fontaine, *Ad lectorem.*

3. IOAN. VVLTEII || RHEMI INSCRIPTIONVM || LIBRI DVO. || AD AEGIDIVM BOHERVM || *Archid. Rhem. et Auen.* || AD BARPT. CASTELLANVM || *Nicaeum Xeniorum libellus.* || [Mark.] || APVD SIM. COLINAEVM. || 1538.

16mo. 48 ff. Bibl. Nat., Yc. 8752.

P. 20, Latin quatrain, *Ad Vulteium Carolus Fontanus Parisiensis.*

1550

4. *Les* || OEVVRES DE || CLEMENT MAROT, || DE CAHORS, VAL- || LET DE CHAM- || BRE DV ROY. || *REVEVES ET AVGMEN-* || TEES DE NOV- || VEAV. || [Mark.] || *A LYON*, || *CHEZ GVILLAVME* || *Rouille à l'Escu de Venise.* || 1550.

16mo, in two parts. First part, 592 pp. numbered. Second part, 320 pp. numbered, 8 ff. unnumbered. Bibl. Nat., Réserve p. Yc. 162.

Reverse of title, huitain by Charles Fontaine, *A la louange des œuvres de Clement Marot*, signed *Hante le François*. P. 3, *Aux lecteurs salut*, notice by Roville.

Concerning Fontaine's part in the preparation of this edition of Marot's works, see pp. 136 ff., above.

Reprinted at least six times by Roville: 1551, 1553, 1554, 1557, 1558, 1561.

5. REPOS DE || PLVS GRAND || TRAVAIL. || [Mark.] || A LYON, || PAR IEAN DE TOVRNES, || ET GVIL. GAZEAV. || M.D.XXXXX.

8vo. 141 pp. numbered. Bibl. Nat., Réserve Ye. 1406.

A collection of epigrams, sonnets, odes, and moral dialogues, by Guillaume des Autelz.

P. 7, quatrain, *C. Fonteine à la Sainte de l'autheur*. The *Amoureux Repos de Guillaume des Autelz*, Lyons, Jean Temporal, 1553, reverse of title and fol. a 2 r°, contains likenesses of Des Autelz and his Sainte, aged twenty-four and twenty years respectively (reproduced by Baudrier, *Bibl. lyon.*, 4e série, p. 380).

P. 17, huitain by Des Autelz, *A M. Charles Fontaine, contre un envieux*. Cf. p. 154, above. In the *Repos de plus grand travail*, Des Autelz also addresses verses to the following friends of Fontaine: Maurice Scève, Pontus de Tyard, Mellin de Saint-Gelais, Denys Sauvage, and Antoine du Moulin.

1556

6. DISCOVRS || DV TEMPS, || DE L'AN, || ET || DE SES PARTIES. || A LION || PAR IAN DE TOVRNES. || M.D.LVI.

8vo. 81 pp. numbered, 3 ff. unnumbered. Bibl. Nat., V. 29214.

This work, by Pontus de Tyard, contains a dizain *A l'Auteur, et Lecteur, Charles Fontaine* (fol. A 4 r°); also a short poem addressed to Tyard by Fontaine's friend Philibert Bugnon, of Mâcon.

1557

7. *Erotasmes* || DE PHIDIE || ET GELASINE. || PLVS, || Le chant Panegyrique de l'Ile Ponti- || ne: auec la gayeté de May. || [Mark.] || *A LYON*, || Par Iean Temporal. || *1557*. || AVEC PRIVILEGE.

8vo. 128 pp. numbered. Bibl. Nat., Ye. 7349.

The *Erotasmes*, by Philibert Bugnon, is composed of 114 sonnets, a number of epigrams, *rondeaux*, *chants*, and sixains in honor of Gelasine, Bugnon's love, and several poems inscribed to Bugnon by his friends. P. 106, *Charles Fontaine à l'honneur de l'auteur*, huitain, signed *Hante le François*.

1558

8. *Edict* || DV ROY || HENRY II. || SVR LES MARIAGES || CLANDESTINS || CON- || TRACTEZ PAR LES || ENFANS DE FAMILLE, || sans le vouloir & consen- || tement de leurs pe- || re & mere: || COMMENTÉ || *En declaracion Panegyrique, par M. Guillaume* || *Mellier, Docteur és Droits,* || *& Aduocat ès* || *cours de Lyon.* || [Mark.] || A LYON, || PAR IEAN TEMPORAL. || Auec Priuilege. || 1558. || [At the end:] IMPRIMÉ A LYON, || PAR NIC. EDOARD, || CHAMPENOIS, || 1558.

8vo. 170 pp. numbered, 3 ff. unnumbered, the last 2 blank. Bibl. Nat., F. 39845.

Edition divided between Jean Temporal and Thibaud Dormand.

Reverse of title, quatrain, *A l'honneur de ce discours de maitre Guillaume Mellier, sur l'Edict du Roy*, signed *Hante le François*.

C. MANUSCRIPTS

ABOUT 1540

1. *Le Premier livre de la predestination des sainctz, composê par sainct Augustin.*

83 ff. numbered. 260 × 175 millimeters. 20 lines to the page. Bound in brown calf. Bibl. Nat., Manuscrits français, 13201.

F. 1 r°, dedication, *A Treshault, Tresinvaincu, et Treschrestien Roy de France, Francois, premier de ce nom, Charles Fontaine, son treshumble subiect, foelicite perpetuelle.* F. 10 v° blank. F. 11 r°, *Le Premier livre de la predestination des sainctz. . . .* F. 83 v°, *Fin.*

With the exception of the letter to Jean de Morel, this manuscript is the only specimen of Fontaine's chirography extant. The manuscript was carefully prepared and was beautifully written. The pages are adorned with borders in red ink. The text is in black ink. In order to space the lines exactly, the author ruled the paper with a dull instrument, the marks of which are plainly visible. Marginal notes in red and black ink: references to the Bible and to the works of Saint Augustine. Capital letters throughout colored yellow. The *C* of *Considerant*, beginning of dedication, and the *N* of *Nous*, beginning of translation, illuminated.

1550

2. Autograph letter, written by Charles Fontaine to Jean de Morel; first published by Pierre de Nolhac in *Lettres de Joachim du Bellay*, Paris, 1883, pp. 86–95.

Bibl. Nat., Fonds lat., 8489, ff. 61–68.

In this letter Fontaine denied that he was the author of the *Quintil Horatian*, and attributed it to his friend Barthélemy Aneau, principal of the Collège de la Trinité at Lyons. The letter is dated *Lyon, ce viij april* [1550].

D. LOST WORKS AND DOUBTFUL ATTRIBUTIONS

1554

1. "Plusieurs Odes & autres Poësies dudit Fontaine, imprimées à Paris par Vincent Sertenas, l'an 1554."

La Croix du Maine, Rigoley de Juvigny edition, vol. i, p. 108.

No other bibliographer mentions this work. I have been unable to find it.

1555

2. A. Cartier (*Les Poètes de Louise Labé*, in the *Revue d'Hist. litt. de la France*, 1894, pp. 439–440) conjectures that Fontaine was the author of some of the verses published anonymously in the *Euvres de Louïze Labé, Lionnoize*, Lyons, 1555.

1580

3. In an edition of Fontaine's *XXI Epîtres d'Ovide* published at Paris in 1580, there appeared a poem, *Sonnet acrostichic sur la transmigration des bonnes lettres d'Athènes et Rome à Paris, ès personnes des Héroïdes d'Ovide*, which is not found in the three previous editions. The authorship of this poem is uncertain.

WITHOUT DATE

4. In the dedication of the *Épitomé des trois premiers livres de Artemidorus* (1546), Fontaine mentions a lost work: "mon *Translat de Duel*, autrement *Combat*, que je fey . . . à Thurin." La Croix du Maine (vol. i, p. 108) mentions the *Translat de Duel*.

5. In the same dedication Fontaine refers to another lost translation: *Translat de la Chiromance*.

6. An unidentified translation presented by Fontaine to Francis I. Cf. p. 44, above.

7. La Croix du Maine (vol. i, p. 108) says: . . . "il [Fontaine] a traduit le nouveau Tristan." Colletet (*Vies des poètes françois*, fol. 193) makes the same statement, and adds that the translation was never published.

E. FORMERLY ATTRIBUTED TO CHARLES FONTAINE

1551

1. ART POETIQVE || François, pour l'instruction des ieu- || nes studieus, & encor peu auan- || cez en la Pöésie Fran- || çoise. || *AVEC LE QVINTIL* || *Horatian sur la defence &* || *illustration de la lan-* || *gue francoise.* || [Mark]. || A LYON, || *Par Iean Temporal.* || 1551 [1550 n. s.]

16mo. 2 ff. unnumbered, 252 pp. numbered, and 8 ff. unnumbered, the last folio blank. Roanne, 385 Cab.

Second edition of the *Art poëtique* of Thomas Sibilet. Pp. 169–252, first edition of the *Quintil Horatian*, long attributed to Charles Fontaine, but now generally attributed to Barthélemy Aneau. Reprinted several times.

In 1556 Thibaud Payen, of Lyons, published an edition of the *Art poëtique françois* which contains an abridgment of Sibilet's work, *Autre art poëtique réduit en bonne méthode.* Goujet attributes this abridgment to Charles Fontaine. After comparison, I am inclined to think that Sibilet himself made the abridgment.

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